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Emma Willard

THE LIFE
OF
EMMA WILLARD.

BY
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AUTHOR OF "THE OLD ROMAN WORLD," "ANCIENT STATES AND EMPIRES," "MODERN
HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS," ETC., ETC.

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TO THE
GRANDDAUGHTERS OF EMMA WILLARD,
WHO CHERISH HER
NAME AND MEMORY AS A PRECIOUS INHERITANCE,
THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

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P R E F A C E.

IN writing the life of a remarkable woman, I have chiefly aimed to present the services by which she would claim to be judged. Although these were various, it was those she rendered to the great cause of female education which made her life memorable. It was in the seminary which she founded in Troy that her greatest labors were performed, and most highly valued. It was thought that her numerous pupils, as well as intimate friends, would be interested in a more extended notice of her than has hitherto appeared. The work is almost entirely based on the letters she received and wrote, and about ten thousand of these have been examined, and selections have been made from such as bore directly on the leading events of her life, as well as on her character. To all who seek to be useful, her example is an encouragement and a stimulus. I have sought to show how much good a

noble-minded, amiable, and energetic woman can accomplish, directly, for the elevation of her sex, and, indirectly, for the benefit of her country and mankind ; and also what moral beauty shines forth from a benevolent career.

J. L.

STAMFORD, CONN., *October*, 1872.

THE LIFE
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INTRODUCTION.

THE useful career of EMMA WILLARD, as one of the most successful teachers this country has known, requires, it is thought, a more extended notice than has hitherto appeared. She may be regarded as the pioneer of female education in a land which has attached peculiar dignity to the development of a woman's mind. She was one of the first to grapple with the vast problem, which is yet unsolved, How shall woman emerge from the drudgery or frivolity of ordinary life, and assume the position which her genius and character, by nature, claim; and which is not merely her privilege, but her right? The gradual elevation of the female sex, since the introduction of Christianity, is the most marked feature of Christian civilization. The contrast between a well-educated modern woman, and the woman of pagan antiquity, is greater and more striking than is presented by any features of ancient and modern life, both in a moral and intellectual point of view. The dignity of the female character was never understood by the

wisest of ancient sages, and was only imperfectly appreciated until these modern times, even with all the light shed by Christianity on the duties which men owe to women, and the glorious consciousness which all elevated women must have felt, in all ages, of their unrecognized equality with man in those qualities of mind and heart which extort respect and admiration.

We need not dwell on the insignificance and degradation of the female sex, even in Greece and Rome, to say nothing of less-civilized states, and of all pagan countries from the earliest times. The picture is sad and revolting. There were, indeed, remarkable women, like Sappho, Volumnia, Lucretia, and Cornelia, who created universal respect for their virtues and talents; and others, like Thais, Næra, Phryne, and Aspasia, who scandalized while they adorned the wicked centres of ancient civilization. But the general condition of the sex was melancholy. The marriage relation was neither tender nor endearing. There were few of the peculiar sanctities of home. Women were given in marriage without their consent; they were valued only as domestic servants, or as animals to prevent the extinction of families; so that they were timorous or frivolous, when they were not vicious, and resorted to all sorts of arts and blandishments to deceive their fathers and husbands. Their amusements were trifling, and their aspirations were scorned. They were miserably educated; they were reduced to abject dependence; and they were excluded from intercourse with strangers, and rarely permitted to issue from their seclusion except to be spectators of a festal procession, or guarded by female slaves. Their happiness was in tawdry ornaments, or a retinue of servants, or demoralizing banquets. They lived amid incessant broils, and lost all fascination when age had robbed them of their physical beauty. Nothing can be more severe than Juvenal, and other satirists, respecting the character and pursuits of

women—victims, toys, or slaves of men ; revenging themselves on imperious and selfish lords by squandering their wealth, stealing their secrets, betraying their interests, and disgracing their homes.

It must be confessed that the condition of woman was higher among the Jews. They were the only people of antiquity that gave dignity to the sex. And yet, even among them, woman was the coy maiden, or the vigilant house-keeper, or the hospitable matron, or the ambitious mother, or the politic wife, or the obedient daughter, or the patriotic prophetess, rather than the cultivated and attractive woman of society. Though we admire the beautiful Rachel, and the heroic Deborah, and the virtuous Abigail, and the affectionate Ruth, and the fortunate Esther, and the brave Judith, and the generous Shunamite, we do not find the sympathetic friend, the Marys, the Marthas, and the Phœbes, until Christianity had developed the virtues of the heart, and kindled the loftier sentiments of the soul.

No great benefactor ever did so much for woman, in ancient times, as Moses, whose comprehensive jurisprudence tended to elevate the sex. He was the first who enjoined delicacy and kindness in the treatment of woman, and enforced justice as the law of all social relations. In the blessed harmonies of home, and in the awful sacredness of the person, we see the permanence of his influence and the benignity of his institutions.

Christianity did still more for woman. There are no grander examples of magnanimity and moral heroism than those presented in the annals of the early martyrs. There were no such women in pagan Rome as those ladies who were the friends of St. Jerome—the Fabiolas, the Paulas, the Blessillas, of the early Church ; no such women as Monica, or Nonna, or Helena, who superintended the instruction of their immortal sons. The annals of the Church are full of the virtues and piety of those women who converted

their barbaric husbands to the faith—like Clotilda, and Bertha, and Ethelburga, and Theodolinda. Among our Gothic ancestors there was a peculiar veneration for women, produced by the simplicities of life and the absence of degrading temptations. So that, in the middle ages, woman appears in a more beautiful aspect than at any preceding period of the world's history. She was radiant with all the graces of chivalry, and exercised on man a commanding and purifying influence. She was ever the object of respectful attention, and even of chivalric allegiance. And she was worthy of the influence she exerted, since it was ever directed in channels of beneficence and charity and mercy. Is a town to be spared for a revolt, or a grievous tax to be remitted, it is a Godiva who intercedes and prevails. Is a despotic priest to be exposed, it is an Ethelgiva who confronts a Dunstan. Are the lives of prisoners to be spared, it is Philippa who controls an Edward. It is Bertha, the slighted wife of Henry, who crosses with him the Alps, in the dead of winter, to enable him to support the anathemas of Hildebrand; and it is, again, a Matilda who pours all her treasures at the feet of the Holy Father. Woman is brave, heroic, self-sustained. The Countess of March defends Dunbar against Montague and an English army. The Countess of Montfort shuts herself up in a fortress and defies the whole power of Charles of Blois. Jane Hachet repulses in person a large body of Burgundians; Bona Lombardi liberates her husband from captivity; Joan of Arc secures the throne of France to a dispirited king. And these women of the middle ages are compassionate as they are brave, as gentle as they are masculine. They are loyal in all their relations, and they extort esteem by their devotion to husbands and children; and hence they were made regents of kingdoms, and heirs of crowns, and joint-managers of princely estates. Never was there an age when woman was so virtuous. Even princes could seldom

boast of successful gallantries. The rough warriors of chivalric ages revered their wives, and daughters, and sisters, and mothers, because their characters were unstained. And, as for a religious life, the convents were full of women who extorted an admiration bordering on idolatry; so that the chivalrous veneration of the earth culminated in the reverence which belongs to the Queen of Heaven; and hence woman, in chivalric ages, stands out as queen of a tournament, mistress of a baronial hall, the wedded equal of a feudal lord, the venerated abbess of a privileged convent, cementing all the bonds of social and civilized life. She assumed the importance among kings and barons which she had acquired in the celestial hierarchy, and by her good sense, amiability, and immaculate virtue, immeasurably enlarged her sphere of usefulness and honor.

While we glory in her elevation—the reward of domestic virtues—we do not see any corresponding advance in the cultivation of the mind. We read of learned and accomplished women, like Heloise, but we do not see that there was any general system of education such as marks our modern times. It is probable that the convent afforded a superficial acquaintance with the lives of the saints, and the rudiments of knowledge; but it is very improbable that there was a systematic course of instruction such as was given to young men in the universities. It was reserved to our time to make experiments in female education, and train women to an equality with men in all departments of knowledge.

And yet, it is only about one hundred years ago that women began to loom up as authors, and make a mark in the literary world. There was now and then a prodigy who wrote a play or a poem, but famous women of culture were only known for their letters, for which they have been distinguished from the time of Heloise. And France

furnished the greater number, of whom Madame de Sévigné was the most distinguished.

Our age has seen a great advance over the period of Louis XIV. in the genius and power of women as authors. Women have produced works of imagination and reason; they have delineated the manners and customs of nations; they have revealed the deeper sentiments and mysteries of the soul; they have treated difficult subjects of art, history, and science; they have even grappled with the theories of astronomy and the problems of political economy; and, if they have been surpassed by some of the giants of former ages, they have shown a capacity to cope with men in any effort purely intellectual, which does not demand superior physical power, and in departments which must needs be professional, as society is constituted. Witness the illustrious array of authors, from Madame de Staël to Mrs. Lewes—in Germany, in France, in England, and even in America.

But it is not the wonderful stride which women have made in the world of letters which is most impressive. It is the general advance of the sex in ordinary education. Women are now versed in all attractive accomplishments; they compose the most appreciating part of cultivated audiences; they put to the blush their brothers and husbands when they travel abroad; and they are the best teachers we find in the schools, for their own sex. So that woman has become the queen of society, as well as the mistress of her house and the educator of her children.

Now, the great ascent which woman has made of late in the social scale—so that few deny her intellectual equality with man, while all are stimulated by her superior cultivation—may be traced to the systems of education which are justly the glory of this age. At last woman is educated as well as or better than her husband or her brother; and this is an immense stride in civilization. Those who

have contributed to this advance are benefactors of the world.

Of those benefactors, one of the most illustrious is the woman whose career it is my object to describe; and I venture these general and introductory remarks in order that her beneficent career may appear to the best advantage. Female education, if it still be a problem, is yet one of the grandest features of this age. Whoever has rendered services in this department is immortal. I shall show that no man and no woman in this department has been more successful and more distinguished than Mrs. Willard, and hence that she deserves the gratitude, not merely of this country, but of mankind, for her educational labors. It is for services in a great cause, and not for genius directed to objects outside her sphere, that she was preëminent.

CHAPTER I.

THE YOUTH OF EMMA WILLARD, AND HER FIRST EXPERIENCE AS A TEACHER, 1787-1808.

BIOGRAPHERS are expected to speak of the early days of remarkable persons, since it has generally proved that "the boy is father of the man." Most of those illustrious characters who have adorned and instructed the world were early distinguished. The subject of this sketch, at an early age, had her attention called to that career which has given her honor and fame.

She was born in a New-England town, which was not as dull one hundred years ago as it is now, where agriculture was the chief occupation of the people, and where they lived and died among their early friends. Berlin, near Hartford and Middletown, Connecticut, was then a prosperous farming community, where there were few distinctions of rank, before wealth was the recognized claim to American aristocracy, and before manufacturers arose to the dignity of the patrons of civilization.

The father of Mrs. Willard was one of the stanch men of the day, an influential farmer, who represented the town in the General Court, honest, hospitable, kind-hearted, with strong desires for intellectual culture, inquiring, and very liberal—perhaps too liberal for his interests. In these times he would probably belong to "the more advanced" school of thinkers, especially those who have a fondness for scien-

tific investigation. Samuel Hart, or Captain Hart—for everybody had a title among our Puritan ancestors—was designed for a liberal profession, and was partially fitted for college when his father died. He was a descendant of Thomas Hooker, one of the founders of Connecticut, who was a cousin of the more celebrated Richard Hooker, author of “Ecclesiastical Polity.” He was a brave and enterprising young man, and assumed the burden of supporting his mother and sisters. Though engrossed with business, he found time to read Locke, Berkeley, and Milton, in those consecrated evenings which were the most beautiful feature of old New-England life. Our grandfathers and grandmothers always had time and inclination for solid reading. Familiar with principles, they had deep convictions. In those days the subjects of discussion and interest were politics, theology, and the great characters of history. Metaphysical divinity, however, was the favorite solace of thinking and religious people. They discussed “free-will, predestination, and foreknowledge absolute,” even as the courtiers of Louis XIV. discoursed on the doctrines of “probability,” and all those casuistries by which the Jesuits undermined morality. The amazing stimulus which the Reformation gave to metaphysical and theological inquiries had not died out three generations ago, even in the farm-houses and churches of New England. Captain Hart belonged to the liberal party, in opposition to the “Standing Order,” and did not believe in persecution for opinions which can never be more than speculations. Nor was his liberality much admired. It cut him off from the sympathies of a majority of the parish, and interfered with his worldly success. But he maintained his independence, and secured respect, if not popularity.

Very few of this generation realize what a dreadful thing it was for a man to be liberal in his views among the farmers of New England one hundred years ago. The ex-

communications of the middle ages were scarcely harder to be borne than the anathemas of the Puritan churches. A liberal thinker was generally regarded as an infidel. To have doubts about eternal punishment reduced a man to nearly as sad a condition, in the estimation of his neighbors, as if he questioned the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty. And that good old woman represented a large class when she said, "Take away my belief in total depravity, and I should have no religion left." Captain Hart was not merely a liberal thinker on the metaphysical question which theology raised, but he was very tolerant in practical life. He was the church treasurer, and paid the taxes himself of two men who had been imprisoned for refusal to support the minister, according to the old New-England laws; which generosity was so far from being appreciated, that he withdrew entirely from the church, of which he is said to have been "a pillar," so far as a man may be said to be the support of dogmas with which he did not sympathize. If I am correct in my impressions of what his daughter told me, I doubt if he was a pillar of orthodoxy, as then understood in Connecticut. But he was a straightforward, conscientious, free-spoken, bold, and true man, with great respect for Christian institutions.

The mother of Mrs. Willard—who belonged to the Hinsdale family—a second wife, and ten years younger than her husband, was practical, economical, industrious, sagacious, charitable, an admirable manager, a helpmeet—a type of those old-fashioned New-England wives who believe in duties rather than rights, and who kept alive the fire of her domestic hearth by her loyalty and love. Amid her other labors, like the heroines of Homer, she sorted and carded wool, and the distaff was one source of family prosperity. She was the mother of ten children, and the step-mother of seven, all of whom lived together in harmony and comfort, dispensing a simple hospitality, and shedding

the radiance of contentment and joy upon the whole neighborhood—a neighborhood where all equally worked, and prayed, and read, and sung their songs of praise; where none were poor or rich, and yet all were comfortable, and happy, and enlightened. In far-distant generations this period of New-England history may be called the golden age. What country ever saw such colonists as Puritans? Their sterile lands then gave support to a hardy agricultural population. In the summer they toiled like bees; in the winter they meditated like sages. They were lofty, for they believed in the God of Abraham, and Moses, and David, and Paul.

Such were the parents of Emma Willard, and such was the community in which they dwelt. Nor did she ever lose the impressions which these united made upon her mind.

EMMA HART was born February 23, 1787, and was the sixteenth child—the youngest but one, Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps being the younger sister. In childhood she was sent to the district school, and her father supplemented the instruction of the day by his teachings in the evening. Before she was fifteen, she had acquired all the knowledge taught in the public school, and had read Plutarch's *Lives*, Rollin's *Ancient History*, and Gibbon's *Rome*, and the most famous of the British essayists. Such was the intellectual food with which our grandmothers and mothers were fed, and not the frothy and pointless, or immoral and sensational novels, which the daughters of our New-England farmers now read as a preparation for the discipline of life. Contrast the healthy, hearty, frank, joyous country-girls of that age, with the languid, sentimental, idle, ignorant, unpractical girls of this "more advanced period," reclining on a sofa, while their mothers are doing the needful work of the family. Has modern education reached, in its results, no greater height? I verily believe that our ancestors, with all their hard labors, read more useful and instructive

books, one hundred years ago, than are read in this age. True, it is an age of reading as well of popular education. But what books are read? What are the subjects discussed? What is the enfranchisement which is sought? What are the virtues developed? In the pursuit of fancied rights, *we* forget the real and eternal duties.

After gaining all the knowledge the district school could give, Emma Hart, an enthusiastic girl, attended an academy, or high-school, at greater distance from her home, kept by a Dr. Miner, a graduate of Yale, who afterward became distinguished as a physician. For two years, by this truly scholarly man, she was stimulated to make all the attainments possible at the time, especially in the art of composition, for which she had a natural aptness. These studies were probably in advance of those made by girls of her rank and means, whose sphere was that of domestic duties. But she had longings for a different sphere.

And this was presented in the spring of 1804, when she was seventeen years of age. Through the encouragement of an influential lady of forty, between whom and herself were strong ties of friendship, she opened a school herself for village children; and her great career as a teacher began, to be pursued, with only slight interruption, for forty years.

She began her life-labors by arranging into classes the children intrusted to her care, in order to discover their various capacities. Among her first pupils was her sister Almira, six and a half years younger, the present Mrs. Phelps. Her first trial was a case of discipline. Neither talking nor reasoning was of avail on the rude and ignorant boys, who rushed to windows and doors to watch the passing vehicles, or retreated altogether for sports in the mulberry-grove near by. Her final argument was a bundle of rods, and one poor fellow received a sort of vicarious chastisement for the whole, which speedily reduced them all to dis-

cipline and obedience. And such was the unsparing severity of the rod, that corporeal punishment was never afterward inflicted.

The school became the admiration of the neighborhood for discipline and for progress in studies. But this school was only for the summer months. Emma Hart panted for new attainments; and, through the aid of successful brothers, she was enabled to spend part of the two following years at schools at Hartford, kept by a Mrs. Royce and the Misses Patton. Those two years, spent in alternate teaching and study, were fruitful in experience, in friendship, and in labors, and developed energies before unknown.

Emma Hart, now an accomplished young lady, took charge of the school in Berlin where she had been a pupil. And, such was her success and reputation, that, in 1807, when she was twenty, she was invited to teach in Westfield, Massachusetts; Middlebury, Vermont; and Hudson, New York. She decided on the place nearest home, and went to Westfield, as assistant in the old and famous academy established in that beautiful town. It would seem that her salary was not equal to her labors, nor her labors to her ambition; and she removed to Middlebury, after a few months, much to the regret and chagrin of the good people of Westfield. Here she had the entire charge of the school, and her success was brilliant, for the place and time.

But now a circumstance occurred which threatened to close her bright career as a teacher. Her youth, accomplishments, and virtues, won the heart of a prominent citizen of Middlebury—Dr. John Willard, Marshal of the State of Vermont, a man of property and considerable attainments, and an influential politician of the Republican party, the party which upheld Jefferson.

At the age of twenty-two, Emma Hart abandoned, as she supposed forever, the useful and honorable career of a

public teacher, to become the wife of one of the leading citizens of Vermont. And the marriage proved happy, for her love was based upon respect for solid qualities, and his upon admiration for graces, worth, and beauty. Their sympathies were alike in science, in politics, and in religion. Their circumstances were easy, and their home was quiet. In the enjoyment of the highest happiness known to man or woman, the world might have said, "And this is the end of her." But great and noble as is the avocation of teaching, especially when the heart, soul, and mind, are enlisted, greater is the sphere of wife and mother. In the mysterious agencies of Heaven, who can measure the influences which woman exerts? Who was greater in influence, in all ages, than Monica, the sainted mother of Augustine, or Cleopatra, on the Egyptian throne? The loftiest women will yield to instincts which baffle all mortal schemes. Some women affect to sneer on matrimonial life as a state which they would neither desire nor accept. It is a false sentiment which pretends to despise that condition which God Almighty has designed for the highest development of character and usefulness. There is no sphere from which woman descends when she accepts an honorable love; for she simply obeys the instincts of Nature, and the conditions of her higher life, and the ordinances of God. And, if she can blend her domestic duties as a wife with her vocation as a teacher, she attains the end of a noble ambition; but, it must be confessed, a sphere difficult to fill. We shall see how Emma Willard subsequently fulfilled the duties of both wife and teacher.

I can find but few letters which throw light on the period of Mrs. Willard's life previous to marriage. I find a sprightly letter, written in 1803, from one of her female friends, on the fascinations of Sir Charles Grandison, the favorite hero of the day, but not sufficiently attractive to draw the mind from more profitable reading. Emma Hart

read history, an unusual study for young ladies in these times of light and knowledge. Another, written in 1804, is on the verities of friendship, which Mrs. Willard ever accepted and believed in. In her enthusiastic and loving soul, friendship was ever the most valued of her pleasures. She was made for friendship—so true, so earnest, so sympathetic, so affectionate, was she by nature. And the friendships of her youth she carried with her into old age, since they had the basis of sympathy and respect to rest upon. They were not the frivolous asseverations of eternal attachment, which so many school-girls forget as soon as they encounter the flatteries of the world. Pique, envy, caprice, time, and altered circumstances, dissipate most of the dreams of youthful friendship, so that those most capable of it frequently become the most cynical of unbelievers. It is women, under thirty, smarting from disappointments, who are most incredulous of the holy certitudes of the soul. But young girls and old men and old women are alike believers, in spite of the experiences of life. It is a sad thing to see an ardent friendship dissipated; it is sadder to see a warm and generous nature distrustful of its existence. The friendship of Emma Hart and Nancy Wadsworth, of Hartford, was one of those which lasted, and evince great mutual esteem. Says Nancy, in 1803: "Emma, I do think you are a pretty girl, and always did; and I like you better and better. I need not give you any advice, except to follow the impulses of your heart, and you will do perfectly right." In 1804 Nancy Wadsworth writes: "I have finished spinning yesterday, eleven run, and it fills the whole of our part of the middle kitchen." Such was the employment of young ladies in those days. Dr. Sylvester Wells, of Hartford, was another of her friends. In a friendly letter, 1807, I read that the price of tuition in the best private school in Hartford was two shillings and sixpence a week, and of board twelve

shillings—a fact which does not, indeed, shed much light on friendship, but something on life in those days.

The letters of her cousin, E. W. Wells, wife of the doctor, written in 1807, show great delicacy of friendly interest and great respect—full of wise caution to avoid the snares of life, to which, as a young lady, in a strange place, with beauty and frankness of character, she was exposed. Such is the advice given by friends in those days. “Your heart is too susceptible of the finer feelings to permit you to remain uninterested in genteel manners united with a pleasing form; yet some experience and much caution are necessary before you can decide whether the heart is congenial with your own, or the understanding equal to what first acquaintance leads us to suppose.” Mrs. Willard, in mature life, regarded Mrs. Wells as one of the most elegant, beautiful, and interesting women of Connecticut. There are several of her letters to Emma Hart; I find none in return.

The only letter of Mrs. Willard before her marriage which I can find, is one to her parents, in August, 1807, in reference to her situation in Middlebury: “I go to school generally before nine, and stay till one; come home, snatch my dinner, go again, and stay till almost sundown; come home, and dress in a great hurry to go abroad; get home about ten, fatigued enough to go to bed, and lie till seven the next morning, with hardly time enough to mend my stockings. Sunday I attend four meetings. My situation is a very trying one, in some respects. It will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to avoid making enemies. To please all is impossible—as much so as it would be for a person to be going two different ways at the same time. To please the greatest number of the people, I must attend all the meetings Sunday, go to conference one or two afternoons in a week, profess to believe, among other articles of the creed, that mankind, generally speaking, will be damned. To please

another set of people, I must speak in the most contemptible manner of conferences, and ridicule many of the notions of religionists, and praise many things that are disagreeable, such as dancing, playing cards, etc. In this situation I know of no better way than to follow the dictates of my conscience. This would direct me not to ridicule what others hold to be sacred; to endeavor not to treat any in such a manner as that they may have reason to be personally my enemies; to have no idea of pretending to believe what I do not believe."

There is great character in this extract, and it reveals the traits for which she was ever distinguished—sincerity, independence, fearlessness, policy, kindness of heart, and good sense. This extract also shows that, in the town of Middlebury, they had as many religious "meetings" in those days as they have in these, and that there were as many shades of opinion now as then, both theological and moral. In the same letter this young lady of twenty-two speaks of the society of the town: "I find society in a high state of cultivation—much more than any other place I was ever in. The beaux here are, the greater part of them, men of collegiate education. The young ladies have the advantage of a most excellent preceptress—some, of excellent natural sense; and, among the older ladies, there are some whose manners and conversation would dignify duchesses." All this extravagance I can understand. The vivid impression made upon my own mind, when in college, by society in Rutland, where I also kept school, can never pass away—the grand airs of the Temple family, the courteous benignity of Judge Williams, the imposing dignity of Mrs. Hodges, the soft blandness of some, the elegance of others, the intellectual brightness of a few, the general culture of all, the intelligence, life, and fascination of the belles, the aristocratic style which leading families assumed, the fine horses, the parties, the well-furnished dwellings, the air of

comfort and of wealth—these filled me with admiration, and excited my imagination, fresh from college seclusion, stiffness, pedantry, and monotonous and dreary proprieties. Mrs. Willard perhaps exaggerated the glories of a New-England village, as I did ; but never since, in New-England towns, has there been the same vitality, so numerous a circle of educated men, or such charming and lively women. Middlebury seemed to her, as Portsmouth seemed to Daniel Webster, at this period—1807—superior, in social fascination, to any places in which he subsequently lived. And never will that peculiar charm of the old New-England towns return. The life and culture of such places as Stockbridge, Northampton, Rutland, Middlebury, Keene, Portsmouth, Norwich, Newport, are now absorbed in cities ; and it is only in the prosperous environs of cities that social life, in country places, is now enjoyed as it once was. The old centres of social influence are dead, formal, and dismal. It is the universal complaint that society in all these towns has degenerated. And, not only from the deserted villages of New England has glory passed away, but from rural districts. The farms, once cultivated by intelligent and religious Puritans, are being left to run to waste, or are taken up by Irish and German laborers ; and the blooming daughters of these prosperous farmers have deserted their homes, twenty years ago, for cotton-mills, and now for obscure positions in crowded cities behind the counters of retail shops, or in the back-rooms of milliners and mantua-makers. The idea that labor degrades, and the country stultifies, is born of sentimental and sensational novels, and is the fruit of a senseless desire for luxury and show. So that the old race is fast running out, and another generation may see the old scenes of healthy and honorable labor occupied only by summer tourists, or bigoted and ignorant foreigners. True, manufacturing towns have sprung up on every river's bank, but these are more uninteresting to me than the gloomy

solitude of deserted streets, since their populations, with few exceptions, lack those qualities of mind and soul which give dignity to life. Better is a graveyard with trees and flowers and hills, than a treadmill for slaves.

Mrs. Willard, during the time she taught in Middlebury, before her marriage, kept a journal or diary, in which she records, not experiences in religious life, like most journals of that age, but the facts and observations of her daily life. She dreads calumny and misrepresentation; she suffers from too enthusiastic feelings; she anticipates more than she enjoys; she attends parties and balls; she has an intense relish for agreeable society; she moralizes on passing events; she quivers over the wounds which her sensitive nature suffers; she speculates on the basis of friendship, and pants for it as food for her soul; she criticises sermons, especially those which attempt to reconcile free-agency with divine decrees, the staple of which too many sermons in those days were made; she is disappointed in men of great reputation; she admires the argumentative powers of Rev. Mr. Merrill, the classmate of Webster; she is pleased with the attention shown her in social circles; she chronicles the letters she writes, and the visits she makes, and the sermons she hears; she writes her dreams of literary success, and the subjects on which she intends to treat; alludes to her poetical pieces with more humility than she has had the credit for; she describes her historical studies, and literary labors, her paintings, and her poems, her interviews with prominent people, the Starrs, the Swifts, and the Chipmans, the Latimers and the Frosts, her large correspondence, and her conversation even on interesting topics, among which are the relations which should exist between a husband and wife.

In short, this diary, continued about a year, contains but little information which would now be interesting. It was written without much care, and reveals an intellect ob-

jective rather than subjective. There are no bursts of passion, no subtle analyses of human feelings, no acute observations, no searching criticism, no original and profound reflections. Nor was the journal intended to reveal an inner, but an outer life. Every thing is sensible, practical, kind, true. I discover no deep enthusiasm in any new plans of education. That time had not yet come. She is a young lady, of twenty-two, sketching the events and incidents of a happy and useful life, having a keen enjoyment of the world as it is, and entering freely into its harmless pleasure ; improving every opportunity for self-education, and discharging daily duties with cheerfulness and peace.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE OF MRS. WILLARD, AND PRIVATE LIFE AT MIDDLEBURY (1809-1814).

EMMA WILLARD was married in 1809, and there are few records of her life until she again embarked in educational enterprises, in 1814. The married life of a young woman of twenty-two is not very eventful, although it may be very happy and useful. Soon after marriage, Dr. Willard lost his office, and suffered financial reverses; and, for four or five years, it is probable that there were solicitude, and care, and straitened circumstances, in his home in Middlebury. In the few letters of Mrs. Willard which pertain to this period of trial, we perceive great loyalty to her husband's interest, and great affection. He was naturally absent at long periods from home, and the charge of his affairs devolved upon his young wife, who evinced prudence, economy, and care. She encourages him in his hopes, and dispels his fears. She submits cheerfully to his necessary absence. "I regret," says she, in a letter to her husband, "that your absence from home must be prolonged, but, much as I feel the want of your society, and much as we need your care, I am not weak enough to request you to return while exertions remain unmade to relieve you from your embarrassments.

"Your affairs at home have, I believe, suffered less by

your absence than could have been expected. Godenow has, I believe, prosecuted the farming business, with great zeal and attention. The winter-apples are gathered; the cider is made—twenty-three barrels; the potatoes are nearly all in; the buckwheat is gathered, but lies on the barn-floor unthreshed, which, by-the-way, places us in a predicament about the wheat; the cows and hogs have been fed according to your directions; the carrots and garden vegetables are out yet, but will be gathered immediately; no injury has been done to the farm by unruly cattle; Wilcox has let us have a quarter of beef.

“As it respects myself, I have not been five rods from the house since you left, and it is not probable I shall exceed those bounds until you return. I have seen no company at home, so you can see I have been a *widow* indeed, and, I can add in haste, I count the days when I may expect you home.”

Thus was she engrossed in family cares and duties, seeing but little society, and devoted to her infant son, born in the year 1810. There are no signs of unhappiness or discontent in altered circumstances. There are no repinings, no murmurs, no uncheerfulness.

These five years were enriched by a constant correspondence with her father, Samuel Hart; and his letters are model letters, such as old-fashioned gentlemen wrote to their daughters—dignified, careful, religious, and full of good advice. He takes great satisfaction in the domestic happiness of his daughter, and details the humble incidents of his own happy home. And, though suffering acute pain from a disease which was hurrying him into the grave, he is calm, philosophical, and resigned. I am inclined to the opinion that he was quite a remarkable man, and would have done honor to any station in life. Few are the farmers in these times so intelligent, so able, and so wise. He lived when old men were revered as patri-

archs, and who had the virtues and character of patriarchs.

I select from the letters of this uneventful period one which Mrs. Willard wrote to a female friend, as a beautiful exhibition of the sentiment of friendship, in which she lived, and without which her sympathetic nature would have suffered :

“ You make it a particular request that I shall write on the *first* leaf of a book which you devote to friendship. With solemnity of thought, fully aware of what I do, I write on the leaf. There—it is done ! What is done ? The league of friendship, existing before in the spirit, is now in the letter also. You are set apart from the world as it respects me—I as it respects you. If I am in need, sickness, or adversity, the world may pity, but it is for you to relieve. If you are the victim of misfortune, then it must be me to bring you relief and consolation. This is not marriage ; but it is something like it. Mutually to love, to trust, to rejoice, and mourn together—such is the relation which subsists between Julia Pierpont Werne and Emma Willard.”

One more letter, to her brother, on the settlement of her father's estate, in 1813, is all I can quote from this period of her life, and this is to show her justice and wisdom, which were marked qualities of mind until her death :

“ MIDDLEBURY, *December 23, 1813.*

“ DEAR BROTHER : In the settlement of our father's estate it is an object most desirable that such an understanding be kept up between us as in the end we shall all be satisfied. To effect this it is necessary that we frequently commune together, believing, in a spirit of charity and brotherly love, that there are none of the heirs who do not intend to do right. I am much pleased with the proposal to settle the estate without resorting to law. If it is set-

tled according to equity, that is sufficient. And, if we lay prejudice aside, we surely can be better judges of that than strangers can. In the first place, I think it ought to be considered that, with regard to the property our father left, we children have not, in justice, any claim; because none of us, except, perhaps, yourself, helped either to acquire or preserve it; and I believe our father thought he gave you a compensation, and I never heard but what you were satisfied. We received our existence in the old mansion. We were nursed in our infancy, and the wants of our childhood were supplied. This, surely, does not give us any claim. But, with mother, the case is different. She entered the family at an age when she was capable of rendering assistance instead of requiring it. She has spent more than forty years of hard labor, care, and anxiety, in it, and to her care it is owing that our large family have been brought up, and so much of the property remains. So, to what is left, after paying the debts, it follows that she has superior right—enough to support her, even if that should comprehend the whole.”

Here is a letter which, for clearness of statement, and principles of equity, would do credit to a lord-chancellor, or a second Daniel, or a Portia. Its spirit should be copied into all codes. If such principles were regarded, all our miserable lawsuits about the division of property would cease. Widows would not be grasping, and children would not be extortionate, and legal, technical law would give place to the higher demands of justice and equity. The humanity of the letter is impressive—like that of the conduct of Ambrose when he ordered the sale of the sacred vessels of his cathedral for the redemption of slaves. This is the higher law, since it appeals to consciousness—to eternal justice. When this letter was written, Mrs. Willard was herself in straitened circumstances.

Thus far Emma Willard's life had been a labor, a discipline, an experiment—all to fit her for her future labors. We see the enthusiastic girl, the thoughtful woman, the devoted wife. We see an admirable fitness for the profession of a teacher, but without experience or originality. We see a woman with a keen enjoyment of the pleasures of society, and a great appreciation of the certitudes of friendship. We see sense, sagacity, will, enterprise, and duty. We are now to see a fresh and more glorious career as a pioneer of elevated and thorough female education on a new plan, to which she devotes the whole energies of her earnest nature. With the consent of her husband she now resolves to found an academy for boarding-pupils. It had not been wholly untried by other women, but it was comparatively new in this country. She is to assume a great task—one of difficulty and responsibility. And, more, she is to assist her husband in his financial difficulties; yea, to take the lead.

This leadership in supporting a family is one of amazing difficulty and delicacy. It is a law of Nature and of society that a man must support his family. It is hard for a proud man to submit to this, and requires a wise man to concede gracefully, when there is an obvious necessity. Dr. Willard appreciates the noble qualities of his wife, and assists her. He is not weak, or timid, or lazy. He is a man of intellect, of character, and of enterprise. But he sees that a great enterprise, like the education of young ladies in a boarding-school, can be best conducted by a woman of experience, and energy, and tact. With a false pride, he would have spurned the proposal; with a weak mind, he would have raised obstacles; with an unloving heart, he would have been depressed. But he enters heart and soul into the undertaking, giving his aid, his counsel, and his experience. It is Mrs. Willard's school; but, without a generous and loving man, for an assistant, it would

have been a failure. He resigns no rights, he descends to no inferior sphere, but does his part, manfully and cheerfully, and allows his wife to develop her energies in her own way. There is the most perfect concord, harmony, and trust. If she is to do the duty of a teacher, he is also to do the duty of out-door supervision, and bring his talents into the partnership which love and confidence have sealed. He is much older than she, and hence she has superior physical energies. But he brings wisdom, prudence, foresight. He is proud of a wife who can thus assume great trusts and duties without diminishing his dignity or happiness. He has been unfortunate. He cannot reasonably expect to supply, from his own earnings, all the wants of an aspiring woman. So he gratifies her ambition, without losing his own.

I close this short chapter by quoting one of Mrs. Willard's letters, from the able sketch of Rev. Henry Fowler :

“ When I began my boarding-school, in Middlebury, my leading motive was to relieve my husband from financial difficulties. I had also the further motive of keeping a better school than those about me ; but it was not till a year or two after that I formed the design of effecting an important change in education by the introduction of a grade of schools for women higher than any heretofore known. My neighborhood to Middlebury College made me bitterly feel the disparity in educational facilities between the two sexes ; and I hoped that, if the matter was once set before the men as legislators, they would be ready to correct the error. The idea that such a thing might possibly be effected by any means seemed so presumptuous that I hesitated to entertain it, and, for a short time, concealed it even from my husband, although I knew he sympathized in my general views. But it was merely on the strength of argument I relied. I determined to inform myself, and increase

my personal influence and fame as a teacher, calculating that, in this way, I might be sought for in other places, where influential men would carry my project before some Legislature, for the sake of obtaining a good school." —

What her school was we have now to examine, and also her system of instruction at Middlebury.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCHOOL AT MIDDLEBURY, 1814-1819.

MRS. WILLARD, when she commenced her boarding-school at Middlebury, projected those educational plans which she afterward carried out with such signal ability and success. Her exertions were unremitted and laborious. In a short time she had seventy pupils. She spent from ten to twelve hours a day in teaching; and, when she prepared for examination, as many as fifteen. She must have been a woman of remarkable physical strength and vigor, as well as strength of mind and character. Besides her teaching, she was perpetually investigating some new subject, so that she brought a class of studies into her school very unusual at that time. It was her object to make her pupils understand every subject which was brought to their attention, which demanded much talking and questioning on her part, considering her work wasted whenever the pupils failed in interest. The recitations were also directed to the strengthening of the memory, that faculty for which girls are most distinguished. And she also taught them the power of communicating whatever they had acquired. It was very early her aim to train her pupils to teach others, and her institution may be regarded as a seminary for the education of teachers.

It was then she began a series of improvements in the

teaching of geography, history, and philosophy, which drew the attention of the professors in the college, who attended her examinations; and these examinations were fearlessly conducted, and called out great admiration.

In the treatment of pupils there was no flattery—neither to them personally, nor of them to their parents—as is the custom, too often, in our modern fashionable boarding-schools, whenever the end is to get as many pupils as possible, and make as much out of them as possible, and where nothing but the most glowing representations are made to parents, especially in reference to music, whether the pupil has a genius for it or not. Mrs. Willard ever spoke of the imperfections and the faults of her pupils to their parents, but only with the view to their improvement. And, so plainly did she write, that some might have been offended. In a letter to Mrs. Skinner, 1814, she says: “I have dwelt upon Susan’s faults, and touched lightly upon her good qualities. These we are all sensible of. I may have wounded your feelings in pursuing a course directly opposite to the common one; but my aims in the improvement of my pupils are high.”

One of the peculiarities of Mrs. Willard’s life was her extensive correspondence, from her earliest experience as a teacher. At first her letters were written to her family and her intimate friends. These letters are letters of friendship, showing from the first her enlarged heart and her affectionate sympathies. She wrote to her pupils as well as to her friends. She gave them encouragement, but did not conceal defects. She was too sincere to flatter either parents or pupils. She delighted in giving friendly advice to all who were younger than herself. This is ever connected with teaching—the unpaid, unappreciated, unrewarded part of it—the communication of knowledge for its own sake. This appears in a letter she wrote to her younger sister, Almira, in 1814, when she too had just embarked

in the profession of teaching, and to which she also devoted herself to the decline of life. Almira appears to have been her favorite sister, whose career as a teacher and author has been signally successful. When she was just embarking upon her career in Berlin, her sister thus writes: "As I have but a few moments to write, I believe it would be most profitable to spend that time in endeavoring to give you 'some good advice.'" [Mrs. Willard is now herself but twenty-seven.] "In the first place, refrain from pampering your imagination too much with novels. You and I ought rather to consult our understanding. A person who has the voyage of life before her, with too much imagination for her understanding, is a vessel on a boisterous ocean, with too much sail, exposed to a thousand accidents. In the next place, be economical both of your time and money. True, the sun shines to-day; but it may storm to-morrow. Thirdly, in intercourse with the world, seek rather to avoid censure than to attract attention." Here we see the early development of that practical turn of mind and good sense which never deserted her.

Almira Hart, a younger sister, seems to have had very early her confidence. Two years before, she had recommended her as a preceptress for the Westfield Academy, highly extolling her proficiency, diligence, and accomplishments, especially in painting and embroidering.

Mrs. Willard had not been long in her school at Middlebury, before she began to project plans for the furtherance of female education. The following letter, to her friend, the wife of Governor Skinner, in 1815, shows how much this great object occupied her active mind: "I thank you for your favorable opinion of my exertions in my school, and I am not so modest as to say that I do not think I have in some degree deserved them. Certainly, when I compare what I have done with my ideas of perfection, I have much cause to be humbled; but, when I com-

pare my labors with what are generally done in schools of a similar kind, I feel some cause to be satisfied with my own. I am gratified with your sentiments on female education; and I wish legislators thought as you do and I do. They can expend thousands for the education of male youths, but when was any thing ever done by the public to promote that of females? And what is the reason of it? It is not because the expense is valued, nor because fathers do not love their daughters as well as their sons. It is partly from inattention to the subject, and partly from the absurd prejudice that, if women's minds were cultivated, they would forget their own sphere, and intrude themselves into that of men. And whence arises this? Not from a liberal and candid investigation of the organization of the female mind in general, but because a few individuals of masculine minds have forcibly broke through every impediment, and rivalled the men even in their own department. These, however, do not constitute the rule, but the exception. They might as well reason that, because there is now and then a brawny woman who can lift a barrel of cider, her whole sex should be kept constantly within-doors and not allowed to exercise, lest, if they should attain the full perfection of their bodily strength, they would contest the prize upon the wrestling ground, or attempt to take the scythe and the hoe from the hands of men, and turn them into the kitchen. The truth is that, when men suffer from mortification in being rivalled by women in point of strength either of body or mind, they suffer a thousand times from their weakness. How many a man has lived straitened and depressed in his circumstances, or been absolutely ruined as to his property, because his wife had a childish partiality to this place or that; and she chose it because she chose it; or because his wife wanted to appear as her neighbors appeared, without considering whether her husband's purse might compare with her

neighbor's; or whether her neighbors were not indulging their vanity to their ruin! What boots it, to a man who has so weak a thing for a wife, how many elegant pieces of embroidery she may have wrought in her youth, or how bright a red or green she may have produced upon paper, or even that she possessed the most cultivated manners, and all those soft attractions that are capable of dissolving his soul in fondness? Untaught to form any extended views, destitute of any strength of reason, they are in her hands but a delicious poison, or it may be a lure to destruction. I have taken a view of woman merely as a wife; but, taking also the view as a mother, the importance of her character rises almost infinitely. When we consider that the character of the next generation will be formed by the mothers of this, how important does it become that their reason should be strengthened to overcome their insignificant vanities and prejudices, otherwise the minds of their sons, as well as of their daughters, will be tainted by them! I think the business of education is not to counteract the decision of Nature, but to perfect ourselves in Nature's plan. She has destined man for the more hardy, woman for the softer, employments of life. She has written this language upon their outward forms, and it is no less distinguishable in the texture of their minds. Woman seeks not to be admired for her strength, but to be beloved for her softness; and she readily yields the palm of one for the endearing mind of the other. But, because the arm of a woman is naturally weaker than that of a man, and more polished and beautiful, shall she refrain from using and improving that portion of her strength which Nature has given it, and on which alone its usefulness depends? What a beautiful symmetry do we find in the plans of Nature—one thing exactly fitted to another! Man, as it respects every earthly object, is an independent being. He feels himself endowed with force to defend, resist, or conquer;

but he wants a motive to exert those faculties. In his heart are the materials of an ardent affection, which give an indefinable uneasiness if no subject is presented on which to fix them. Shall he fix them on his fellow-man? Endowed with the same faculties, they want not each other's assistance; and, what is a still stronger objection, their pursuits are the same, and there is a rivalry of interest, even jealousy, between them; there is in their hearts a wish to be admired. What they find to admire in each other, is what they profess or wish to be thought to possess themselves. And, apart from these grounds of jealousy, man feels a want of some friend who he knows is devoted to him; to whom he feels his existence to be necessary, and who will watch over him in sickness and soothe him in sorrow. These he cannot find in man. But he finds them all in woman. In her his restless ambition reposes; to provide for her and to defend her gives him a motive to exert his utmost strength. He cheerfully devotes his life to defend her. She seeks not to rival him, in his peculiar excellences, but she admires him as he wishes to be admired. She feels her dependence upon him; his life seems more precious to her than her own, and she watches every symptom of its decline with more than equal anxiety. Leaning on his arm, she feels a safety even in the storm and the tempest, and almost ascribes to him that almighty force which controls the very elements.

"Excuse me. I began upon the subject which most interests me—female education; and, as my imagination became warm, I followed it whithersoever it led."

This letter, from a lady of twenty-eight, shows, to my mind, a very superior intellect, and profound observation of life and Nature. She unfolds her very soul. She is frank and acute—feminine and powerful, without any tincture of those "women's rights" which neither the Gospel, nor Nature, nor experience, recognizes. She seeks to educate

woman so that she may be the friend and helpmeet of her husband, and the sound educator of her children, admitting her inferiority to man in energy and strength, both of body and mind—yet necessary to him—and respected by him in proportion to the qualities which are developed by education. There are no envious stings and slurs. To her loving and exalted eyes man appears as he did to the women of chivalry—the protector, the admirer, and the friend. How healthy and elevated the sentiments of this letter, worthy to be written in letters of gold, and far in advance of the common doctrines which women, in these days of progress and light, are apt to entertain in reference to their husbands! She pleads for education—equal education—only, liowever, that the woman may become the better wife and mother.

I quote a part of another letter, to one of her pupils, in 1815, to show the relation she assumed to them, for it is in her letters that her talents are most apparent, since in these she was most natural, straightforward, and sensible. When she gave utterance to her views in sober prose, when her heart prompted her genius, when she spoke from experience, she was always wise and forcible; as Madame de Staël has so well said, “If persons would only say what they really feel and think, they would never be dull or unimpressive.”

“DEAR EMILY: It is natural that, after having so excellent a mother, you should feel at times as if the world was a desert—that there was scarcely any one left that would befriend you; but, my dear child, you must not encourage such desponding thoughts. I do not advise you to forget your mother. No—you must never forget the counsels she has given you; and, above all, you must recollect the excellent example she has left you. She is taken from you, but her immortal spirit may hover over

you, to rejoice in your virtues, and mourn for your faults. Endeavor to bear her loss with fortitude. Consider how you may best discharge the duties of life. For the sake of your father, put on as cheerful a countenance as you can, and endeavor, by every attention, to beguile him of his sorrows.

“And, in the choice of your intimate friends, my dear, much of your prosperity and happiness will depend; and, trust me, you will find your advantage in selecting them from those who are older and wiser than yourself. A young girl like you wants friends to advise her; and remember that, at all times, it is better for you to act from the best judgment you can for yourself, than to go for advice to a person no wiser than yourself. Such a person, no doubt, may feel attached to you, but she would be apt to advise you in a way she thought would please you, but without thinking sufficiently on the consequences from following her advice. Those consequences *she* might not feel, but *you* might to your sorrow. The responsibility of your conduct falls upon yourself alone. Again, those of your own age will often advise you wrong, from ignorance. To them, as to you, the path of life is yet untrodden. But, when you go to one wiser and older than yourself for counsel, perhaps she can look back upon some case in her own life resembling it, when she herself acted as would be right for you to act, or acted wrong, and rued the consequences. I think you may always depend on the friendship of my sister Almira, but Miss Nancy Wells would be a still better adviser. I have mentioned none but females, because I conceive it indisputably necessary to a young lady conducting at all times with propriety that she may have able female advisers.”

The following letter, written to her sister Almira, in 1815, is the earliest I have found among her writings to this favorite sister, and coadjutor in the cause of female

education. It shows the gravity and dignity which marked this period of her life.

“MIDDLEBURY, *July 30, 1815.*

“DEAR SISTER: You think it strange that I should consider a period of happiness as more likely than any other to produce future misery. I know I did not sufficiently explain myself. Those tender and delicious sensations which accompany successful love, while they soothe and soften the mind, diminish its strength to bear or to conquer difficulties. It is the luxury of the soul; and luxury always enervates. A degree of cold that would but brace the nerves of the hardy peasant, would bring distress or death to him who had been pampered by ease and indulgence. This life is a life of vicissitude. A period of happiness, by softening and enervating the soul, by raising a thousand blissful images of the future, naturally prepares the mind for a greater or less degree of disappointment, and unfits us to bear it; while, on the contrary, a period of adversity often strengthens the mind, and, by destroying inordinate anticipation of the future, gives a relish to whatever pleasures may be thrown in our way. This, perhaps you may acknowledge, is generally true; but you cannot think it applies to your case—otherwise than that you acknowledge yourself liable to disappointment by death. But we will pass over that, and we will likewise pass over the possibility of your lover’s seeing some object that he will consider more interesting than you, and likewise that you may hereafter discover some imperfection in his character. We will pass this over, and suppose that the sanction of the law has been passed upon your connection, and you are secured to each other for life. It will be natural that, at first, he should be much devoted to you; but, after a while, his business must occupy his attention. While absorbed in that he will perhaps neglect some of those little tokens of affection which have become necessary to your happiness. His affairs will sometimes go

wrong, and perhaps he will not think proper to tell you the cause; he will appear to you reserved and gloomy, and it [will] be very natural in such a case for you to imagine that he is displeased with you, or is less attached than formerly. Possibly you may not in every instance manage a family as he has been accustomed to think was right, and he may sometimes hastily give you a harsh word or a frown. But where is the use, say you, of diminishing my present enjoyment by such gloomy apprehensions? Its use is this, that, if you enter the marriage state believing such things to be absolutely impossible, if you should meet them, they would come upon you with double force. We should endeavor to make a just estimate of our future prospects, and consider what evils, peculiar situations in which we may be placed, are most likely to beset us, and endeavor to avert them if we can; or, if we must suffer them, to do it with fortitude, and not magnify them by imagination, and think that, because we cannot enjoy all that a glowing fancy can paint, there is no enjoyment left. I hope I shall see Mr. L—. I shall be very glad to have you come and spend the winter with me, and, if he could with propriety accompany you, I should be glad to see him. I am involved in care. There [are] forty in our family and seventy in the school. I have, however, an excellent house-keeper and a very good assistant in my school. You seem to have some wise conjectures floating in your brain, but, unfortunately for your skill in guessing, they have no foundation in truth.

“Little John says I must tell you he has learned a great deal. He goes to a little children’s school, and is doing very well. Doctor has not yet gone to Pittsfield after mother, but expects to set out this week. We both feel very unpleasantly that he could not have gone before, but a succession of engagements made it impossible.

“Yours affectionately,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

It would be easy to quote numerous letters which Mrs. Willard wrote during the few years she continued her school at Middlebury—to her parents, full of affection and respect; to her friends, full of sympathy and kindness; and this amid the press of duties, in which she ever seemed to glory. And, amid all her aspirations and labors to elevate women, it is *duties* upon which she dwells, and never upon *rights*.

But other things filled her mind. It was in 1817 and 1818 that her soul panted for a wider sphere—some institution which she should direct which had the sanction and encouragement of men of position, and the aid of legislative bodies. Her correspondence with the famous men of the day in reference to her plans is very extensive.

To Daniel Kellogg she writes: “I depend upon my examinations not only for the reputation of my school, but for ultimately effecting a change in the system of female education, which I believe to be of great importance, not only to my own sex, but to society in general. I take unwearied pains to prepare my pupils for examination, not sparing myself when any thing can be done for their benefit.”

To President Monroe she writes: “The authoress presumes to offer to you this plan for improving the education of females by instituting public seminaries, under the inspection of those exalted characters whose object it is to promote the welfare of our country and the happiness of mankind. Possibly you may consider this plan as visionary, but its authoress is not a visionary theorist who has speculated in solitude, but for years she has been intimately conversant with female schools, and almost for ten years has been a preceptress. Nor has she written for the sake of writing, but to make known a plan which she believes is practicable. Nor would she shrink from any trial of her faith; for, such is her conviction of the utility of her plan, that,

could it be effected by any exertion or any sacrifice of her own, neither the love of domestic ease nor the ties of consanguinity and friendship would prevent her leaving the abodes of her youth to embark her reputation and happiness on its success."

It would thus appear that her scheme of a public seminary, under the supervision of public men, was deemed a great novelty fifty-five years ago; so that she may be regarded as the pioneer of this kind of enterprise, carried on successfully since in every part of the country. There were female schools in her day, as in the days of Hannah More; there were also convents in Catholic countries, like the school of St. Cyr, of which Madame de Maintenon was the patron, where young ladies received an excellent education—in one sense, public schools; but with her originated the idea of female seminaries under the patronage and supervision of legislative bodies.

To Judge Crafts, an influential member of Congress, she writes, in 1817: "Why should I hesitate to submit my plans to a good man whose business and object it is to promote the public good? I have sent to the President a manuscript containing my plan for improving the education of females, by instituting public seminaries for their use. Nor do I fear that Mr. Monroe will regard my plan with contempt, for I have written on a subject I understand. But I fear, amid the multiplicity of his concerns, a scheme coming from an obscure individual may be thrown from his mind before he has duly considered it. I wish the plan may become a subject of discussion among the most liberal and enlightened characters at Washington. Those who have young daughters will, I think, feel a personal interest in the subject. Some may be induced from its novelty to give it some attention, and others from its justice to our sex and usefulness to society.

"Perhaps you may think I may safely risk my plan

upon its merits—that, if it is good, it will be sustained; and, if not, it ought not to be sustained—that, if the plan is not good, it ought to sink. That it will sustain itself, is not to my mind apparent. This is a world in which silent, unpatronized merit is too often disregarded, while bustling impudence is fully noticed.”

To Judge Fisk she writes: “You may recollect my plan of female education which I have recently committed to paper. That plan will be submitted to President Monroe by Mr. Van Ness. It will be at Washington like a friendless orphan, with none to take its part. From this consideration I have ventured to address you on its behalf.”

To General Van Schoonhoven she writes, in 1818: “Since you were in Middlebury I have had opportunities of communicating my plan to several gentlemen who rank among the first characters of Vermont. From them it has received a warm approval. They also give the opinion that the Legislature of New York would not refuse it their patronage. Indeed, in the course of two years which have elapsed since I wrote I have submitted my scheme to a great variety of characters, and there is not one individual of the number but what has approved of it, but many have sought to discourage any attempt to execute it by saying that the public sentiment was not ripe for such a change. It is not unlikely that you, sir, may hear the same remarks. But what are the facts on which to rest such an opinion? The defects of the present mode of education have, within two or three years, been made the theme of declamation in different colleges; they have been a common topic of newspapers and other publications. When you shall have consulted with your friends on the propriety of forming such an association for improving education as was proposed, be good enough to write me the result of your consultation.”

And again she writes to Dr. Wells, of Hartford: “Soon

after my return from Connecticut, General Van Schoonhoven, a wealthy citizen of Waterford, New York, came here to place under my care an adopted daughter and expected heiress. He was accompanied by the parents of two other pupils of mine from that village. They proposed to me to remove my boarding-school there next spring. On this I informed them that my present object was to have it in my power to assist in building up an institution of a different kind. I then read to them my plan. They were highly pleased with it, and thought it feasible. They thought, also, there would be no difficulty in getting the Legislature of New York to patronize it. Both Judge and Chancellor Kent, of Albany, have advised young ladies to come to me, since they would then learn something. These circumstances afford some ground that the chancellor's influence might be exerted in favor of my plan. I might also tell you of several instances in which prospects have opened to me of making influence in the State of New York."

Again, to General Van Schoonhoven she writes: "An act of incorporation will doubtless pass without difficulty. The point next to be considered is, whether or not it would be expedient to make an application for funds to the next Legislature. If it be decided to petition for funds in the course of the winter (1818), Dr. Willard and myself will endeavor to be in Albany at the time. In that case, it would probably be best to publish the plan of education, so as to present each member with a copy. Something also might be done to interest the public mind by newspaper publication, and a number have offered to write in its favor."

Again, to the same, in 1819: "I consider it now settled that we shall remove to Waterford as soon as the roads are tolerable. Dr. Willard informs me that we can have Mr D——'s house, if a more convenient cannot be procured."

In the same year she thus wrote to T. S. G., Esq.: "I

have just received intelligence that the bill to incorporate an institution in Waterford on the plan alluded to has passed; that the trustees have organized, and appointed Rev. Samuel Blatchford president; that a large and commodious building in Waterford has been taken, to which Dr. Willard and myself are to remove as soon as the roads are settled. But the great point still remains to be gained, and is now pending before the Legislature of New York, which is, whether or not it will grant funds sufficient to carry the plans into execution. A petition to that effect is now before the Legislature."

From a newspaper extract, 1819, we read the following: "The second edition of Mrs. Willard's plan of female education is now on the press. It was last fall presented in manuscript to Governor Clinton, and received from that great man an approbation highly flattering, both as to the merits of the plan and its execution as a literary work. During the winter it was addressed in a printed form to the members of the Legislature of New York. That enlightened body, with the liberality which has so highly distinguished the public councils of that State, passed an act incorporating a female seminary at Waterford, placing it under the inspection of the regents of the university, and allowing it to receive a share of the literary fund."

Thus Mrs. Willard, after two years' deliberation and efforts with influential men, succeeded in having her plan indorsed by the Legislature of New York, and some aid afforded. And this was effected by her own perseverance, deep convictions of the importance of the subject, and the aid and encouragement of such men as Governor Clinton and Chancellor Kent. It is now time to consider the plan itself.

CHAPTER IV.

MRS. WILLARD'S PLAN OF FEMALE EDUCATION.

WE should do injustice to Mrs. Willard to give a mere extract or synopsis even of her plan, on which was based her whole system of education, and which was the foundation of the female colleges of this country. Whatever name her school may go by, yet in all essential respects it was a college. The plan contemplated large public buildings, a library, a laboratory, a philosophical apparatus, a large staff of teachers, a body of trustees, and aid from the Legislature of the State. It was too great an enterprise to be effectually carried on by any individual—at least, in those times. It was a public institution, and Mrs. Willard was merely the president of it—the founder—the proprietor.

It will be seen that her great idea was the development of the female mind to the utmost perfection of its nature. And this idea is in harmony with the educational notions of some of the great thinkers of antiquity. It was not to fill the young mind with undigested knowledge, as a vessel is filled with water, and then to continue to pour knowledge into the mind after it was full; but also to bring out, *educare*, what was already there. It is the perfection of woman's nature at which she aimed, by an improved method of instruction, and this with the view of making

better wives and mothers. She is not too severe on the defects of female education in her day, especially when left to the mercy of "private adventurers;" whose chief object was money. She rightly thinks that the most cultivated talents should be brought into exercise, and that institutions should be endowed, so as to be able to command them. She is in favor of boarding-schools, in spite of their defects, but thinks that they should not be mere temporary institutions, with the view to present emolument. She doubts if they can furnish sufficient accommodation, a library, or apparatus necessary to teach the various branches, or even provide suitable instruction, since these private schools cannot afford to have a variety of teachers for the different branches. Such were the private schools when she contemplated her plan. We are happy to say that a great improvement has been made within a few years in private female schools, and some of them are on so large a scale that we cannot see the difference between them and the public schools in reference to the number of teachers employed, or the variety of the studies, or the excellence of discipline, or the amount of capital employed. The only difference is, that they are not under the supervision of a board of trustees, and have no public funds, and no share in the patronage of the State.

The private schools too rarely have public examinations. But, on the other hand, it may be urged by the friends and patrons of private schools that a board of trustees may be only a blind; that it may be made to play into the hands of the principals, and is only a form; that examinations are still more likely to be perverted; that a quarter of the time of pupils is employed to cram and read up for such occasions; that real and substantial benefit of study is all lost in a vain show, in order to impose upon spectators; that while examinations, doubtless, lead to increased study on the part of some, this study is not for the attainment

of knowledge so much as to make a good appearance at the close of the term.

But if it be conceded that private schools in these days, especially in great cities, are quite equal to incorporated institutions in efficiency, in discipline, in improved methods, in text-books, in a corps of learned teachers, and in the variety of instructions, especially of an ornamental sort, like music, painting, and dancing, yet it should be borne in mind that these improvements would not have been made were it not for the example set by the incorporated female seminaries, of which that established by Mrs. Willard was the first and the forerunner, though some followed in other sections. It was her object to raise the standard of education, and give an impulse to it everywhere, which she doubtless did. She introduced new studies, and such as never before were thought fit for young ladies; and she paid less attention to showy accomplishments than solid intellectual improvement. Her seminary was never designed to be a mere fashionable school. The daughters of the rich might come to it, but not because they were to devote themselves to useless pursuits, or indulge in idleness and frivolity. A fashionable school, as generally understood, was the object of her contempt and scorn—where the daughters of ignorant people, suddenly enriched, attend for a year or two, to “finish” an education never earnestly begun; where girls of seventeen are put to the study of books which are only used in colleges for senior students, and this when these girls can neither spell correctly, nor write legibly, nor talk grammatically; when they are signally deficient in the very rudiments of knowledge such as are taught in common schools; when these girls, thoughtless, inattentive, ignorant, are grossly flattered and indulged and amused, so that their time may pass pleasantly; where their over-indulgent parents are grossly deceived as to the advance made by their daughters; where study after study is pressed

upon them, nominally—either to gain commissions on the articles sold, or to satisfy the demands of ignorant parents, who think the more books their daughters have looked into the greater is their proficiency; where holidays and amusements of all sorts are freely given—any thing to please the girls—any thing to seduce them to return—smiles, favors, rewards—such is a fashionable school; and the more fashionable as the terms of admission are extravagant, and where the profits are so large that an establishment “run like a factory” or a boarding-house, when once the winds of popular favor swell its sails, will enable the worldly and shrewd manager to retire in a few years with a fortune, even for a city. But all noted city schools are not of this sort; but there are enough of them to bring disgrace upon female education, and undermine all the good a girl has learned at home. She returns at length to her father’s house in Petroleumville, utterly spoiled, with false notions of life, more ignorant than before, extravagant, pretentious, false, full of “airs,” without sentiment enough even to be romantic, and without those “undying friendships” which old-fashioned school-girls believed in, and fancied they had won. At nineteen this finished and educated young lady sets up a grand piano, and a pony phaeton, and amuses the empty-headed beaux, who flock to her parlor, with her French phrases and second-hand criticisms, and the weak mother and brusque father equally rejoice in her attainments and fascination. Thus she is prepared for “society” and for the duties of a mother and wife; and no one wonders when a future estrangement takes place—a final separation from her husband, on the unanswerable and Christian ground of “want of sympathy.”

And Mrs. Willard’s healthy mind, strongly fortified by religious principles, had an equal contempt for money-making schools, which pretended to be as pious as those religious newspapers which glory in advertisements, and

insert lengthy editorials on stoves. She would make girls religious, but not by an appeal to "millineries and upholsteries;" not by a return to exploded superstitions, or by the encouragement of delusions which end in fanaticism, with all the fierce intolerance which marked mediæval ages. Neither Jesuitism, with its pedantic routine, and principles of expediency, and rigid formalities, nor ritualistic Pharisaism, nor canting claims to superior goodness, found favor in her eyes, which looked upon man and woman as alike perverse, and in need of constant watchfulness to prevent departure from virtue. A religious school which fed the girls on fish in Lent, or made up for meagre fare with beautiful napkins and expensive china, was no school to her, who viewed hungry girls, as they must of necessity be, after five hours of confinement and study.

Now, it was Mrs. Willard's aim to prevent all such catastrophes, such fatal shocks to the happiness of life, by an education practical, real, and unpretending—such as would give dignity to character and harmony to home—more intellectual than what was then customary—the higher branches of mathematics, geometry, algebra, history, botany, and philosophy—yet not less ornamental nor less religious. She also believed in increased care to preserve the morals of the girls, both by systematic discipline, elevation, instruction, and friendly advice. She would have examinations, but they were to be under the scrutiny of honest and intellectual men, generally those of high social position and influence from various parts of the country; she would give diplomas, but only to those who deserved them from long years of earnest study; she would win the favor of parents, but not by appealing to their vanity, or cheating them by delusive representations; she would secure the love of the girls, but only by winning their respect and confidence.

But, without dwelling further on her method, we sub-

mit her "plan" itself, *in extenso*, as it was originally presented to the New-York Legislature :

AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC; PARTICULARLY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, PROPOSING A PLAN FOR IMPROVING FEMALE EDUCATION. BY EMMA WILLARD. MIDDLEBURY, 1819. SECOND EDITION.

THE object of this address is to convince the public that a reform, with respect to female education, is necessary; that it cannot be effected by individual exertion, but that it requires the aid of the Legislature: and further, by showing the justice, the policy, and the magnanimity of such an undertaking, to persuade that body to endow a seminary for females, as the commencement of such reformation.

The idea of a college for males will naturally be associated with that of a seminary, instituted and endowed by the public; and the absurdity of sending ladies to college may, at first thought, strike every one to whom this subject shall be proposed. I therefore hasten to observe that the seminary here recommended will be as different from those appropriated to the other sex as the female character and duties are from the male. The business of the husbandman is not to waste his endeavors in seeking to make his orchard attain the strength and majesty of his forest, but to rear each to the perfection of its nature.

That the improvement of female education will be considered by our enlightened citizens as a subject of importance, the liberality with which they part with their property to educate their daughters is a sufficient evidence; and why should they not, when assembled in the Legislature, act in concert to effect a noble object, which, though dear to them individually, cannot be accomplished by their unconnected exertions?

If the improvement of the American female character,

and that alone, can be effected by public liberality employed in giving better means of instruction, such improvement of one half of society, and that half which barbarous and despotie nations have ever degraded, would of itself be an object worthy of the most liberal government on earth; but, if the female character be raised, it must inevitably raise that of the other sex; and thus does the plan proposed offer, as the object of legislative bounty, to elevate the whole character of the community.

As evidence that this statement does not exaggerate the female influence in society, our sex need but to be considered in the single relation of mothers. In this character we have the charge of the whole mass of individuals who are to compose the succeeding generation during that period of youth when the pliant mind takes any direction, to which it is steadily guided by a forming hand. How important a power is given by this charge! yet little do too many of my sex know how either to appreciate or improve it. Unprovided with the means of acquiring that knowledge which flows liberally to the other sex—having our time of education devoted to frivolous acquirements—how should we understand the nature of the mind, so as to be aware of the importance of those early impressions which we make upon the minds of our children? or how should we be able to form enlarged and correct views either of the character to which we ought to mould them, or of the means most proper to form them aright?

Considered in this point of view, were the interests of male education alone to be consulted, that of females becomes of sufficient importance to engage the public attention. Would we rear the human plant to its perfection, we must first fertilize the soil which produces it. If it acquire its first bent and texture upon a barren plain, it will avail comparatively little should it be afterward transplanted to a garden.

In the arrangement of my remarks I shall pursue the following order :

I. Treat of the defects of the present mode of female education and their causes.

II. Consider the principles by which education should be regulated.

III. Sketch a plan of a female seminary.

IV. Show the benefits which society would receive from such seminaries.

DEFECTS IN THE PRESENT MODE OF FEMALE EDUCATION AND THEIR CAUSES.

Civilized nations have long since been convinced that education, as it respects males, will not, like trade, regulate itself; and hence they have made it a prime object to provide that sex with every thing requisite to facilitate their progress in learning; but female education has been left to the mercy of private adventurers; and the consequence has been to our sex the same as it would have been to the other had Legislatures left their accommodations and means of instruction to chance also.

Education cannot prosper in any community unless, from ordinary motives which actuate the human mind, the best and most cultivated talents of that community can be brought into exercise in that way. Male education flourishes, because, from the guardian care of Legislatures, the presidencies and professorships of our colleges are some of the highest objects to which the eye of ambition is directed. Not so with female institutions. Preceptresses of these are dependent on their pupils for support, and are consequently liable to become the victims of their caprice. In such a situation it is not more desirable to be a preceptress than it would be to be a parent invested with the care of children and responsible for their behavior, and yet

depending on them for subsistence, and destitute of power to enforce their obedience.

Feminine delicacy requires that girls should be educated chiefly by their own sex. This is apparent from considerations that regard their health and conveniences, the propriety of their dress and manners, and their domestic accomplishments.

Boarding-schools, therefore, whatever may be their defects, furnish the best mode of education provided for females.

Concerning these schools it may be observed :

1. They are temporary institutions formed by individuals, whose object is present emolument. But they cannot be expected to be greatly lucrative; therefore the individuals who establish them cannot afford to provide suitable accommodations as to room. At night the pupils are frequently crowded in their lodging-rooms; and, during the day, they are generally placed together in one apartment, where there is a heterogeneous mixture of different kinds of business, accompanied with so much noise and confusion as greatly to impede their progress in study.

2. As individuals cannot afford to provide suitable accommodations as to room, so neither can they afford libraries and other apparatus necessary to teach properly the various branches in which they pretend to instruct.

3. Neither can the individuals who establish these schools afford to provide suitable instruction. It not unfrequently happens that one instructress teaches, at the same time and in the same room, ten or twelve distinct branches. If assistants are provided, such are usually taken as can be procured for a small compensation. True, in our large cities preceptresses provide their pupils with masters, though at an expense which few can afford. Yet none of these masters are responsible for the general proficiency or demeanor of the pupils. Their only responsi-

bility is in the particular branch which they teach ; and to a preceptress, who probably does not understand it herself, and who is, therefore, incapable of judging whether or not it is well taught.

4. It is impossible that in these schools such systems should be adopted and enforced as are requisite for properly classing the pupils. Institutions for young gentlemen are founded by public authority, and are permanent ; they are endowed with funds, and their instructors and overseers are invested with authority to make such laws as they shall deem most salutary. From their permanency, their laws and rules are well known. With their funds they procure libraries, philosophical apparatus, and other advantages, superior to what can elsewhere be found ; and, to enjoy these, individuals are placed under their discipline who would not else be subjected to it. Hence the directors of these institutions can enforce, among other regulations, those which enable them to make a perfect classification of their students. They regulate their qualifications for entrance, the kind and order of their studies, and the period of their remaining at the seminary. Female schools present the reverse of this. Wanting permanency, and dependent on individual patronage, had they the wisdom to make salutary regulations, they could neither enforce nor purchase compliance. The pupils are irregular in their times of entering and leaving school ; and they are of various and dissimilar acquirements. Each scholar, of mature age, thinks she has a right to judge for herself respecting what she is to be taught ; and the parents of those who are not consider that they have the same right to judge for them. Under such disadvantages a school cannot be classed except in a very imperfect manner.

5. It is for the interest of instructresses of boarding-schools to teach their pupils showy accomplishments rather than those which are solid and useful. Their object in

teaching is generally present profit. In order to realize this, they must contrive to give immediate celebrity to their schools. If they attend chiefly to the cultivation of the mind, their work may not be manifest at the first glance; but, let the pupil return home laden with fashionable toys, and her young companions, filled with envy and astonishment, are never satisfied till they are permitted to share the precious instruction. It is true, with the turn of the fashion, the toys which they are taught to make will become obsolete, and no benefit remain to them of perhaps the only money that will ever be expended on their education; but the object of the instructress may be accomplished, notwithstanding, if that is directed to her own rather than her pupils' advantage.

6. As these schools are private establishments, their preceptresses are not accountable to any particular persons. Any woman has a right to open a school in any place; and no one, either from law or custom, can prevent her. Hence the public are liable to be imposed upon, both with respect to the character and acquirements of preceptresses. I am far, however, from asserting that this is always the case. It has been before observed that, in the present state of things, the ordinary motives which actuate the human mind would not induce ladies of the best and most cultivated talents to engage in the business of instructing from choice. But some have done it from necessity, and occasionally an extraordinary female has occupied herself in instructing, because she felt that impulse to be active and useful, which is the characteristic of a vigorous and noble mind; and because she found few avenues to extensive usefulness open to her sex. But, if such has been the fact, it has not been the consequence of any system from which a similar result can be expected to recur with regularity; and it remains true that the public are liable to imposition, both with regard to the character and acquirements of preceptresses.

Instances have lately occurred in which women of bad reputation, at a distance from scenes of their former life, have been intrusted by our unsuspecting citizens with the instruction of their daughters.

But the moral reputation of individuals is more a matter of public notoriety than their literary attainments; hence society is more liable to be deceived with regard to the acquirements of instructresses than with respect to their characters.

Those women, however, who deceive society as to the advantages which they give their pupils, are not charged with any ill intention. They teach as they were taught, and believe that the public are benefited by their labors. Acquiring in their youth a high value for their own superficial accomplishments, they regard all others as supernumerary, if not unbecoming. Although these considerations exculpate individuals, yet they do not diminish the injury which society receives, for they show that the worst which is to be expected from such instruction is not that the pupils will remain ignorant, but that, by adopting the views of their teachers, they will have their minds barred against future improvement, by acquiring a disrelish, if not a contempt, for useful knowledge.

7. Although, from a want of public support, preceptresses of boarding-schools have not the means of enforcing such a system as would lead to a perfect classification of their pupils, and although they are confined in other respects within narrow limits, yet, because these establishments are not dependent on any public body within those limits, they have a power far more arbitrary and uncontrolled than is allowed the learned and judicious instructors of our male seminaries.

They can, at their option, omit their own duties, and excuse their pupils from theirs.

They can make absurd and ridiculous regulations.

They can make improper and even wicked exactions of their pupils.

Thus the writer has endeavored to point out the defects of the present mode of female education, chiefly in order to show that the great cause of these defects consists in a state of things in which Legislatures, undervaluing the importance of women in society, neglect to provide for their education, and suffer it to become the sport of adventurers of fortune, who may be both ignorant and vicious.

OF THE PRINCIPLES BY WHICH EDUCATION SHOULD BE REGULATED.

To contemplate the principles which should regulate systems of instruction, and consider how little those principles have been regarded in educating our sex, will show the defects of female education in a still stronger point of light, and will also afford a standard by which any plan for its improvement may be measured.

Education should seek to bring its subjects to the perfection of their moral, intellectual, and physical nature, in order that they may be of the greatest possible use to themselves and others; or, to use a different expression, that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy and what they communicate.

Those youth have the surest chance of enjoying and communicating happiness who are best qualified, both by internal dispositions and external habits, to perform with readiness those duties which their future life will most probably give them occasion to practise.

Studies and employments should, therefore, be selected from one or both of the following considerations: either because they are peculiarly fitted to improve their faculties, or because they are such as the pupil will most probably have occasion to practise in future life.

These are the principles on which systems of male education are founded; but female education has not yet been systematized. Chance and confusion reign here. Not even is youth considered in our sex, as in the other, a season which should be wholly devoted to improvement. Among families so rich as to be entirely above labor, the daughters are hurried through the routine of boarding-school instruction, and, at an early period, introduced into the gay world, and thenceforth their only object is amusement. Mark the different treatment which the sons of these families receive. While their sisters are gliding through the mazes of the midnight dance, they employ the lamp, to treasure up for future use the riches of ancient wisdom, or to gather strength and expansion of mind in exploring the wonderful paths of philosophy. When the youth of the two sexes has been spent so differently, is it strange, or is Nature in fault, if more mature age has brought such a difference of character, that our sex have been considered by the other as the pampered, wayward babies of society, who must have some rattle put into our hands to keep us from doing mischief to ourselves or others?¹

Another difference in the treatment of sexes is made in our country, which, though not equally pernicious to society, is more pathetically unjust to our sex. How often have we seen a student who, returning from his literary pursuits, finds a sister who was his equal in acquirements, while their advantages were equal, of whom he is now ashamed! While his youth was devoted to study, and he was furnished with the means, she, without any object of improvement, drudged at home to assist in support of the father's family, and perhaps to contribute to her brother's subsistence abroad; and now, a being of a lower order, the

¹ Several noted writers have recommended certain accomplishments to our sex, to keep us from scandal and other vices; or, to use Mr. Addison's expression, "to keep us out of harm's way."

rustic innocent wonders and weeps at his neglect. Not only has there been a want of system concerning female education, but much of what has been done has proceeded from mistaken principles.

One of these is, that, without a regard to the different periods of life proportionate to their importance, the education of females has been too exclusively directed to fit them for displaying to advantage the charms of youth and beauty. Though it may be proper to adorn this period of life, yet it is incomparably more important to prepare for the serious duties of maturer years. Though it is well to cherish the blossom, it is far better to prepare for the harvest. In the vegetable creation, Nature seems but to sport when she embellishes the flower; while all her serious cares are directed to perfect the fruit.

Another error is, that it has been made the first object in educating our sex to prepare them to please the other. But reason and religion teach that we, too, are primary existences; that it is for us to move, in the orbit of our duty, around the Holy Centre of perfection, the companions, not the satellites, of men; else, instead of shedding around us an influence that may help to keep them in their proper course, we must accompany them in their wildest deviations.

I would not be understood to insinuate that we are not, in particular situations, to yield obedience to the other sex. Submission and obedience belong to every being in the universe, except the great Master of the whole. Nor is it a degrading peculiarity to our sex to be under human authority. Whenever one class of human beings derive from another the benefit of support and protection, they must pay its equivalent—obedience. Thus, while we receive these benefits from our parents, we are all, without distinction of sex, under their authority; when we receive them from the government of our country, we must obey

our rulers; and, when our sex take the obligations of marriage, and receive protection and support from the other, it is reasonable that we, too, should yield obedience. Yet is neither the child, nor the subject, nor the wife, under human authority, but in subservience to the divine. Our highest responsibility is to God, and our highest interest is to please Him; therefore, to secure this interest should our education be directed.

Neither would I be understood to mean that our sex should not seek to make themselves agreeable to the other. The error complained of is, that the taste of men, whatever it might happen to be, has been made a standard for the formation of the female character. In whatever we do, it is of the utmost importance that the rule by which we work be perfect. For, if otherwise, what is it but to err upon principle? A system of education which leads one class of human beings to consider the approbation of another as their highest object, teaches that the rule of their conduct should be the will of beings imperfect and erring like themselves, rather than the will of God, which is the only standard of perfection.

Having now considered female education, both in theory and practice, and seen that in its present state it is, in fact, a thing "without form and void," the mind is naturally led to inquire after the remedy for the evils it has been contemplating. Can individuals furnish this remedy? It has heretofore been left to them, and we have seen the consequence. If education is a business which might naturally prosper if left to individual exertion, why have Legislatures intermeddled with it at all? If it is not, why do they make their daughters illegitimates, and bestow all their care upon their sons?

It is the duty of a government to do all in its power to promote the present and future prosperity of the nation over which it is placed. This prosperity will depend on

the character of its citizens. The characters of these will be formed by their mothers; and it is through the mothers that the government can control the characters of its future citizens, to form them such as will insure their country's prosperity. If this is the case, then it is the duty of our present Legislatures to begin now to form the characters of the next generation, by controlling that of the females, who are to be their mothers, while it is yet with them a season of improvement.

But, should the conclusion be almost admitted that our sex, too, are the legitimate children of the Legislature, and that it is their duty to afford us a share of their paternal bounty, the phantom of a college-learned lady would be ready to rise up and destroy every good resolution which the admission of this truth would naturally produce in our favor.

To show that it is not a masculine education that is here recommended, and to afford a definite view of the manner in which a female institution might possess the respectability, permanency, and uniformity of operation of those appropriated to males, and yet differ from them, so as to be adapted to that difference of character and duties to which the softer sex should be formed, is the object of the following imperfect

SKETCH OF A FEMALE SEMINARY.

From considering the deficiencies in boarding-schools, much may be learned with regard to what would be needed for the prosperity and usefulness of a public seminary for females :

I. There would be needed a building, with commodious rooms for lodging and recitation; apartments for the reception of apparatus, and for the accommodation of the domestic department.

II. A library, containing books on the various subjects

in which the pupils were to receive instruction; musical instruments; some good paintings, to form the taste and serve as models for the execution of those who were to be instructed in the art; maps, globes, and a small collection of philosophical apparatus.

III. A judicious board of trust, competent and desirous to promote its interests, would, in a female as in a male literary institution, be the corner-stone of its prosperity. On this board it would depend to provide—

IV. Suitable instruction. This article may be subdivided under four heads :

1. Religious and moral.
2. Literary.
3. Domestic.
4. Ornamental.

1. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.—A regular attention to religious duties would, of course, be required of the pupils by the laws of the institution. The trustees would be careful to appoint no instructors who would not teach religion and morality, both by their example and by leading the minds of their pupils to perceive that these constitute the true end of all education. It would be desirable that the young ladies should spend part of their Sabbaths in hearing discourses relative to the peculiar duties of their sex. The evidences of Christianity and moral philosophy would constitute a part of their studies.

2. LITERARY INSTRUCTION.—To make an exact enumeration of the branches of literature which might be taught would be impossible, unless the time of the pupils' continuance at the seminary and the requisites for entrance were previously fixed. Such an enumeration would be tedious, nor do I conceive that it would be at all promotive of my object. The difficulty complained of is, not that we are at a loss what sciences we ought to learn, but that we have not proper advantages to learn any.

Many writers have given us excellent advice in regard to what we should be taught, but no Legislature has provided us the means of instruction. Not, however, to pass lightly over this fundamental part of education, I will mention one or two of the less obvious branches of science, which I conceive should engage the youthful attention of my sex.

It is highly important that females should be conversant with those studies which will lead them to understand the operations of the human mind. The chief use to which the philosophy of the mind can be applied is to regulate education by its rules. The ductile mind of the child is intrusted to the mother; and she ought to have every possible assistance in acquiring a knowledge of this noble material, on which it is her business to operate, that she may best understand how to mould it to its most excellent form.

Natural philosophy has not often been taught to our sex. Yet why should we be kept in ignorance of the great machinery of Nature, and left to the vulgar notion that nothing is curious but what deviates from her common course? If mothers were acquainted with this science, they would communicate very many of its principles to their children in early youth. From the bursting of an egg buried in the fire, I have heard an intelligent mother lead her prattling inquirer to understand the cause of the earthquake. But how often does the mother, from ignorance on this subject, give her child the most erroneous and contracted views of the causes of natural phenomena!—views which, though he may afterward learn to be false, are yet, from the laws of association, ever ready to return, unless the active powers of the mind are continually upon the alert to keep them out. A knowledge of natural philosophy is calculated to heighten the moral taste, by bringing to view the majesty and beauty of order and design; and to enliven piety, by enabling the mind more

clearly to perceive, throughout the manifold works of God, that wisdom in which He hath made them all.

In some of the sciences proper for our sex, the books written for the other would need alteration, because in some they presuppose more knowledge than female pupils would possess; in others, they have parts not particularly interesting to our sex, and omit subjects immediately relating to their pursuits. There would likewise be needed for a female seminary some works which I believe are nowhere extant, such as a systematic treatise on housewifery.

3. Domestic instruction should be considered important in a female seminary. It is the duty of our sex to regulate the internal concerns of every family; and, unless they be properly qualified to discharge this duty, whatever may be their literary or ornamental attainments, they cannot be expected to make either good wives, good mothers, or good mistresses of families; and, if they are none of these, they must be bad members of society; for it is by promoting or destroying the comfort and prosperity of their own families that females serve or injure the community. To superintend the domestic department, there should be a respectable lady, experienced in the best methods of housewifery, and acquainted with propriety of dress and manners. Under her tuition the pupils ought to be placed for a certain length of time every morning. A spirit of neatness and order should here be treated as a virtue, and the contrary, if excessive and incorrigible, be punished with expulsion. There might be a gradation of employment in the domestic department, according to the length of time the pupils had remained at the institution. The older scholars might then assist the superintendent in instructing the younger, and the whole be so arranged that each pupil might have advantages to become a good domestic manager by the time she had completed her studies.

This plan would afford a healthy exercise. It would prevent that estrangement from domestic duties which would be likely to take place in a length of time devoted to study with those to whom they were previously familiar, and would accustom those to them who, from ignorance, might otherwise put at hazard their own happiness and the prosperity of their families.

These objects might doubtless be effected by a scheme of domestic instruction, and probably others of no inconsiderable importance. It is believed that housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught, not only in practice, but in theory. Why may it not be reduced to a system as well as other arts? There are right ways of performing its various operations; and there are reasons why those ways are right; and why may not rules be formed, their reasons collected, and the whole be digested into a system to guide the learner's practice?

It is obvious that theory alone can never make a good artist; and it is equally obvious that practice, unaided by theory, can never correct errors, but must establish them. If I should perform any thing in a wrong manner all my life, and teach my children to perform it in the same manner, still, through my life and theirs, it would be wrong. Without alteration there can be no improvement; but how are we to alter, so as to improve, if we are ignorant of the principles of our art, with which we should compare our practice, and by which we should regulate it?

In the present state of things it is not to be expected that any material improvements in housewifery should be made. There being no uniformity of method prevailing among different housewives, of course, the communications from one to another are not much more likely to improve the art, than a communication between two mechanics of different trades would be to improve each in his respective occupation. But, should a system of principles be philo-

sophically arranged and taught, both in theory and by practice, to a large number of females, whose minds were expanded and strengthened by a course of literary instruction, those among them of an investigating turn would, when they commenced as house-keepers, consider their domestic operations as a series of experiments, which either proved or refuted the system previously taught. They would then converse together like those who practise a common art, and improve each other by their observations and experiments; and they would also be capable of improving the system by detecting its errors, and by making additions of new principles and better modes of practice.

4. The ornamental branches which I would recommend for a female seminary are drawing and painting, elegant penmanship, and the grace of motion. Needle-work is not here mentioned. The best style of useful needle-work should either be taught in the domestic department, or made a qualification for entrance; and I consider that useful which may contribute to the decoration of a lady's person or the convenience or neatness of her family. But the use of the needle for no other purposes than these, as it affords little to assist in the formation of the character, I should regard as a waste of time.

The grace of motion must be learned chiefly from instruction in dancing. Other advantages besides that of a graceful carriage might be derived from such instruction, if the lessons were judiciously timed. Exercise is needful to the health, and recreation to the cheerfulness and contentment of youth. Female youth could not be allowed to range unrestrained to seek amusement for themselves. If it were entirely prohibited, they would be driven to seek it by stealth, which would lead them to many improprieties of conduct, and would have a pernicious effect upon their general character, by inducing a habit of treading forbid-

den paths. The alternative that remains is to provide them with proper recreation, which, after the confinement of the day, they might enjoy under the eye of their instructors. Dancing is exactly suited to this purpose, as also to that of exercise; for perhaps in no way can so much healthy exercise be taken in so short a time. It has, besides, this advantage over other amusements, that it affords nothing to excite the bad passions; but, on the contrary, its effects are to soften the mind, to banish its animosities, and to open it to social impressions.

It may be said that dancing would dissipate the attention and estrange it from study. Balls would doubtless have this effect; but, let dancing be practised every day by youth of the same sex, without change of place, dress, or company, and under the eye of those whom they are accustomed to obey, and it would excite no more emotion than any other exercise or amusement; but in degree, as it is of itself more pleasant. But it must ever be a grateful exercise to youth, as it is one to which Nature herself prompts them at the sound of animating music.

It has been doubted whether painting and music should be taught to young ladies, because much time is requisite to bring them to any considerable degree of perfection, and they are not immediately useful. Though these objections have weight, yet they are founded on too limited a view of the objects of education. They leave out the important consideration of forming the character. I should not consider it an essential point that the music of a lady's piano should rival that of her master's; or that her drawing-room should be decorated with her own paintings rather than those of others; but it is the intrinsic advantage she might derive from the refinement of herself that would induce me to recommend to her an attention to these elegant pursuits. The harmony of sound has a tendency to produce a correspondent harmony of soul; and that art

which obliges us to study Nature in order to imitate her, often enkindles the latent spark of taste—of sensibility for her beauties, till it glows to adoration for their Author, and a refined love of all His works.

V. There would be needed for a female, as well as for a male seminary, a system of laws and regulations, so arranged that both the instructors and pupils would know their duty, and thus the whole business move with regularity and uniformity.

The laws of the institution would be chiefly directed to regulate the pupils' qualifications for entrance; the kind and order of their studies; their behavior while at the institution; the term allotted for the completion of their studies; the punishments to be inflicted on offenders; and the rewards or honors to be bestowed on the virtuous and diligent.

The direct rewards or honors used to stimulate the ambition of students in colleges are, first, the certificate or diploma which each receives who passes successfully through the term allotted to his collegiate studies; and, secondly, the appointments to perform certain parts in public exhibitions, which are bestowed by the faculty as rewards for superior scholarship. The first of these modes is admissible into a female seminary; the second is not, as public speaking forms no part of female education. The want of this mode might, however, be supplied by examinations judiciously conducted. The leisure and inclination of both instructors and scholars would combine to produce a thorough preparation for these, for neither would have any other public test of the success of their labors. Persons of both sexes would attend. The less entertaining parts might be enlivened by interludes, where the pupils in painting and music would display their several improvements. Such examinations would stimulate the instructors to give their scholars more attention, by which the leading

facts and principles of their studies would be more clearly understood and better remembered. The ambition excited among the pupils would operate without placing the instructors under the necessity of making distinctions among them, which are so apt to be considered as invidious, and which are, in our male seminaries, such fruitful sources of disaffection.

Perhaps the term allotted for the routine of study at the seminary might be three years. The pupils, probably, would not be fitted to enter till about the age of fourteen. Whether they attended to all or any of the ornamental branches should be left optional with the parents or guardians. Those who were to be instructed in them should be entered for a longer term; but if this were a subject of previous calculation, no confusion would arise from it. The routine of the exercises, being established by the laws of the institution, would be uniform and publicly known; and those who were previously acquainted with the branches first taught might enter the higher classes; nor would those who entered the lowest be obliged to remain during the three years. Thus the term of remaining at the institution might be either one, two, three, four, or more years, and that without interfering with the regularity and uniformity of its proceedings.

The writer has now given a sketch of her plan. She has by no means expressed all the ideas which occurred to her concerning it. She wished to be as concise as possible, and yet afford conviction that it is practicable to organize a system of female education which shall possess the permanency, uniformity of operation, and respectability of our male institutions, and yet differ from them so as to be adapted to that difference of character and duties to which early instruction should form the softer sex.

It now remains to inquire more particularly what would be the benefits resulting from such a system.

BENEFITS OF FEMALE SEMINARIES.

In inquiring concerning the benefits of the plan proposed, I shall proceed upon the supposition that female seminaries will be patronized throughout our country.

Nor is it altogether a visionary supposition. If one seminary should be well organized, its advantages would be found so great that others would soon be instituted; and, that sufficient patronage can be found to put one in operation, may be presumed from its reasonableness, and from the public opinion with regard to the present mode of female education. It is from an intimate acquaintance with those parts of our country where education is said to flourish most that the writer has drawn her picture of the present state of female instruction; and she knows that she is not alone in perceiving or deploring its faults. Her sentiments are shared by many an enlightened parent of a daughter who has received a boarding-school education. Counting on the promise of her childhood, the father had anticipated her maturity, as combining what is excellent in mind with what is elegant in manners. He spared no expense that education might realize to him the image of his imagination. His daughter returned from her boarding-school, improved in fashionable airs, and expert in manufacturing fashionable toys, but in her conversation he sought in vain for that refined and fertile mind which he had fondly expected. Aware that his disappointment has its source in a defective education, he looks with anxiety on his other daughters, whose minds, like lovely buds, are beginning to open. Where shall he find a genial soil in which he may place them to expand? Shall he provide them male instructors? Then the graces of their persons and manners, and whatever forms the distinguishing charm of the feminine character, they cannot be expected to acquire. Shall he give them to a private tutoress? She

will have been educated at the boarding-school, and his daughters will have the faults of its instruction second-handed. Such is now the dilemma of many parents ; and it is one from which they cannot be extricated by their individual exertions. May not, then, the only plan which promises to relieve them expect their vigorous support ?

Let us now proceed to inquire what benefits would result from the establishment of female seminaries.

They would constitute a grade of public education superior to any yet known in the history of our sex ; and through them the lower grades of female instruction might be controlled. The influence of public seminaries over these would operate in two ways : first, by requiring certain qualifications for entrance ; and, secondly, by furnishing instructresses, initiated in their modes of teaching and imbued with their maxims.

Female seminaries might be expected to have important and happy effects on common schools in general ; and in the manner of operating on these would probably place the business of teaching children in hands now nearly useless to society, and take it from those whose services the State wants in many other ways.

That Nature designed for our sex the care of children she has made manifest by mental as well as physical indications. She has given us, in a greater degree than men, the gentle arts of insinuation, to soften their minds, and fit them to receive impressions ; a greater quickness of invention, to vary modes of teaching to different dispositions, and more patience to make repeated efforts. There are many females of ability to whom the business of instructing children is highly acceptable, and who would devote all their faculties to their occupation. They would have no higher pecuniary object to engage their attention, and their reputation as instructors they would consider as important ; whereas, whenever able and enterprising men

engage in this business, they consider it merely as a temporary employment to further some other object, to the attainment of which their best thoughts and calculations are all directed. If, then, women were properly fitted by instruction, they would be likely to teach children better than the other sex; they could afford to do it cheaper; and those men who would otherwise be engaged in this employment might be at liberty to add to the wealth of the nation by any of those thousand occupations from which women are necessarily debarred.

But the females who taught children would have been themselves instructed either immediately or indirectly by the seminaries. Hence, through these, the government might exercise an intimate and most beneficial control over common schools. Any one who has turned his attention to this subject must be aware that there is great room for improvement in these, both as to the modes of teaching and the things taught; and what method could be devised so likely to effect this improvement as to prepare, by instruction, a class of individuals whose interest, leisure, and natural talents, would combine to make them pursue it with ardor? Such a class of individuals would be raised up by female seminaries. And, therefore, they would be likely to have highly-important and happy effects on common schools.

It is believed that such institutions would tend to prolong or perpetuate our excellent government.

An opinion too generally prevails that our present form of government, though good, cannot be permanent. Other republics have failed, and the historian and philosopher have told us that nations are like individuals; that, at their birth, they receive the seeds of their decline and dissolution. Here deceived by false analogy, we receive an apt illustration of particular facts for a general truth. The existence of nations cannot, in strictness, be compared with

the duration of animate life; for, by the operation of physical causes, this, after a certain length of time, must cease; but the existence of nations is prolonged by the succession of one generation to another, and there is no physical cause to prevent this succession going on, in a peaceable manner, under a good government, till the end of time. We must, then, look to other causes than necessity for the decline and fall of former republics. If we could discover these causes, and seasonably prevent their operation, then might our latest posterity enjoy the same happy government with which we are blessed; or, if but in part, then might the triumph of tyranny be delayed, and a few more generations be free.

Permit me, then, to ask the enlightened politician of my country whether, amid his researches for these causes, he cannot discover one in the neglect which free governments, in common with others, have shown to whatever regarded the formation of the female character.

In those great republics which have fallen of themselves, the loss of republican manners and virtues has been the invariable precursor of their loss of the republican form of government. But is it not in the power of our sex to give society its tone, both as to manners and morals? And, if such is the extent of female influence, is it wonderful that republics have failed when they calmly suffered that influence to become enlisted in favor of luxuries and follies wholly incompatible with the existence of freedom?

It may be said that the depravation of morals and manners can be traced to the introduction of wealth as its cause. But wealth will be introduced; even the iron laws of Lycurgus could not prevent it. Let us, then, inquire if means may not be devised to prevent its bringing with it the destruction of public virtue. May not these means be found in education?—in implanting, in early youth, habits that may counteract the temptations to which, through the

influence of wealth, mature age will be exposed? and in giving strength and expansion to the mind, that it may comprehend and prize those principles which teach the rigid performance of duty? Education, it may be said, has been tried as a preservative of national purity. But was it applied to every exposed part of the body politic? For if any part has been left within the pestilential atmosphere of wealth without this preservative, then that part, becoming corrupted, would communicate the contagion to the whole; and, if so, then has the experiment, whether education may not preserve public virtue, never yet been fairly tried. Such a part has been left in all former experiments. Females have been exposed to the contagion of wealth without the preservative of a good education; and they constitute that part of the body politic least endowed by Nature to resist, most to communicate it. Nay, not merely have they been left without the defence of a good education, but their corruption has been accelerated by a bad one. The character of women of wealth has been, and in the old governments of Europe now is, all that this statement would lead us to expect. Not content with doing nothing to promote their country's welfare, like pampered children they revel in its prosperity, and scatter it to the winds with a wanton profusion; and, still worse, they empoison its source, by diffusing a contempt for useful labor. To court pleasure is their business; within her temple, in defiance of the laws of God and man, they have erected the idol Fashion; and upon her altar they sacrifice, with shameless rites, whatever is sacred to virtue or religion. Not the strongest ties of Nature—not even maternal love—can restrain them! Like the worshipper of Moloch, the mother, while yet yearning over the new-born babe, tears it from the bosom which God has swollen with nutrition for its support, and casts it remorselessly from her, the victim of her unhallowed devotion!

But, while with an anguished heart I thus depict the crimes of my sex, let not the other stand by and smile. Reason declares that you are guiltier than we. You are our natural guardians—our brothers, our fathers, and our rulers. You know that our ductile minds readily take the impressions of education. Why, then, have you neglected our education? Why have you looked, with lethargic indifference, on circumstances ruinous to the formation of our characters, which you might have controlled?

But it may be said the observations here made cannot be applied to any class of females in our country. True, they cannot yet; and, if they could, it would be useless to make them; for, when the females of any country have become thus debased, then is that country so corrupted that nothing but the awful judgments of Heaven can arrest its career of vice. But it cannot be denied that our manners are verging toward those described; and the change, though gradual, has not been slow: already do our daughters listen with surprise when we tell them of the republican simplicity of our mothers. But our manners are not as yet so altered but that, throughout our country, they are still marked with republican virtues.

The inquiry to which these remarks have conducted us is this: What is offered by the plan of female education here proposed, which may teach or preserve, among females of wealthy families, that purity of manners which is allowed to be so essential to national prosperity, and so necessary to the existence of a republican government?

1. Females, by having their understandings cultivated, their reasoning powers developed and strengthened, may be expected to act more from the dictates of reason, and less from those of fashion or caprice.

2. With minds thus strengthened they would be taught systems of morality, enforced by the sanctions of religion; and they might be expected to acquire juster and more en-

larged views of their duty, and stronger and higher motives to its performance.

3. This plan of education offers all that can be done to preserve female youth from a contempt of useful labor. The pupils would become accustomed to it, in conjunction with the high objects of literature and the elegant pursuits of the fine arts; and it is to be hoped that, both from habit and association, they might in future life regard it as respectable.

To this it may be added that, if housewifery could be raised to a regular art and taught upon philosophical principles, it would become a higher and more interesting occupation; and ladies of fortune, like wealthy agriculturists, might find that to regulate their business was an agreeable employment.

4. The pupils might be expected to acquire a taste for moral and intellectual pleasures, which would buoy them above a passion for show and parade, and which would make them seek to gratify the natural love of superiority, by endeavoring to excel others in intrinsic merit, rather than in the extrinsic frivolities of dress, furniture, and equipage.

5. By being enlightened in moral philosophy, and in that which teaches the operations of the mind, females would be enabled to perceive the nature and extent of that influence which they possess over their children, and the obligation which this lays them under, to watch the formation of their characters with unceasing vigilance, to become their instructors, to devise plans for their improvement, to weed out the vices from their minds, and to implant and foster the virtues. And surely there is that in the maternal bosom which, when its pleadings shall be aided by education, will overcome the seductions of wealth and fashion, and will lead the mother to seek her happiness in communing with her children and promoting their wel-

fare, rather than in a heartless intercourse with the votaries of pleasure : especially when, with an expanded mind, she extends her views to futurity, and sees her care to her offspring rewarded by peace of conscience, the blessings of her family, the prosperity of her country, and finally with everlasting pleasure to herself and them.

Thus laudable objects and employments would be furnished for the great body of females who are not kept by poverty from excesses. But among these, as among the other sex, will be found master-spirits, who must have pre-eminence, at whatever price they acquire it. Domestic life cannot hold these, because they prefer to be infamous rather than obscure. To leave such without any virtuous road to eminence is unsafe to community; for not unfrequently are the secret springs of revolution set in motion by their intrigues. Such aspiring minds we will regulate by education; we will remove obstructions to the course of literature, which has heretofore been their only honorable way to distinction; and we offer them a new object worthy of their ambition—to govern and improve the seminaries for their sex.

In calling upon my patriotic countrymen to effect so noble an object, the consideration of national glory should not be overlooked. Ages have rolled away; barbarians have trodden the weaker sex beneath their feet; tyrants have robbed us of the present light of heaven, and fain would take its future. Nations calling themselves polite have made us the fancied idols of a ridiculous worship, and we have repaid them with ruin for their folly. But where is that wise and heroic country which has considered that our rights are sacred, though we cannot defend them? that though a weaker, we are an essential part of the body politic, whose corruption or improvement must affect the whole; and which, having thus considered, has sought to give us, by education, that rank in the scale of being to

which our importance entitles us? History shows not that country. It shows many whose Legislatures have sought to improve their various vegetable productions and their breeds of useful brutes; but none whose public councils have made it an object of their deliberations to improve the character of their women. Yet, though history lifts not her finger to such a one, anticipation does. She points to a nation which, having thrown off the shackles of authority and precedent, shrinks not from schemes of improvement because other nations have not attempted them, but which, in its pride of independence, would rather lead than follow in the march of improvement—a nation wise and magnanimous to plan, enterprising to undertake, and rich in resources to execute. Does not every American exult that this country is his own? And who knows how great and good a race of men may yet arise from the forming hand of mothers enlightened by the bounty of that beloved country—to defend her liberties—to plan her future improvement—and to raise her to unparalleled glory?

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOOL IN WATERFORD, 1819-1821.

IN the winter the "plan" was submitted to the Legislature of New York, which was so well received that the seminary, removed from Middlebury in the spring, was incorporated, and placed on the list of those institutions which received a share of the literary fund. The committee also reported a sum of five thousand dollars for its endowment, although the bill was not favorably acted upon by the members, ever jealous of their favor with constituents. In nothing have Legislatures in this country been so wary and cautious and non-committal as in advancing schemes of education. A railroad bill can be passed, because the projectors are usually rich enough and unscrupulous enough to bribe the members. But what philanthropist was ever rich enough to buy a charter for a school? There is a general impression that politicians are not very just or enlightened. But it is not brains they lack so much as independence and honesty. They dare not go against the wishes or prejudices of those who compose a majority of voters. They rarely act, in their official capacity, according to their convictions. They are too timid, time-serving, and selfish, to risk any loss of favor from the meanest and most ignorant of their constituents. Our politicians have nearly

ruined the very institutions which it is their business to conserve. Acting on a timid and narrow policy, the members of the Legislature which professed to admire Mrs. Willard's plan, withheld the aid which was necessary to carry it into successful operation. Governor Clinton—a man of great wisdom and foresight, and to whom the city and State of New York are more indebted for their prosperity than to any other human being, since he carried out the series of internal improvements which opened as it were the inexhaustible West to the enterprise of the country, and brought the wealth of the newly-settled districts to the great emporium of American commerce—gave to Mrs. Willard's plan most decided encouragement. And in 1820, the second year after the seminary was established in Waterford, he recommended the infant institution in the following manner: "While on this important subject of instruction, I cannot omit to call your attention to the academy for female education, which was incorporated last session, at Waterford, and which, under the superintendence of distinguished teachers, has already attained great usefulness and prosperity. As this is the only attempt ever made in this country to promote the education of the female sex by the patronage of government; as our first and best impressions are derived from maternal affection; and as the elevation of the female character is inseparably connected with the happiness of home, and respectability abroad, I trust you will not be deterred by commonplace ridicule from extending your munificence to this meritorious institution."

Although a bill passed the Senate, granting two thousand dollars, it failed in the Lower House, where the members were more easily deterred by ridicule, or by the opposition of ignorant constituents. It was probably feared that their patronage to this infant seminary would open the door for future calls from other institutions.

There were certainly no alarms as to sectarian influences, nor were the members venal. They were simply narrow and timid. They only had in view their own popularity.

This failure to receive legislative aid, in spite of the recommendation of the governor, was a great disappointment to Mrs. Willard, and which she felt more keenly than she would have felt had she realized at the commencement what a broken reed she was leaning upon. It seemed to her that she had utterly failed, since she did not then conceive that she could do as well without legislative aid as with. She felt that it was too great a load to be assumed by any individual; that the school must be a State institution or nothing; and hence she thus gives vent to her feelings in blended indignation and disgust:

“To have had it decently rejected, would have given me comparatively but little pain, but its consideration was delayed and delayed until the session passed away. The malice of open enemies, the advice of false friends, and the neglect of others, placed me in a situation mortifying in the extreme. I felt it almost to frenzy; and even now, though the dream is long past, I cannot recall it without agitation. Could I have died a martyr in the cause, and thus have insured its success, I should have blessed the fagot and hugged the stake.

“It was by the loss of respect for others that I gained tranquillity for myself. Once I was proud of speaking of the Legislature as the ‘Fathers of the State.’ Perhaps a vision of the Roman Senate played about my fancy, and mingled with the enthusiastic respect in which I held the institutions of my country. I knew nothing of the manoeuvres of politicians. This winter has served to disenchant me. My present impression is, that my cause is better rested with the people than with their rulers. I do not regret bringing it before the Legislature, because in no other way could it have come so fairly before the public. But

when the people shall become convinced of the justice and expediency of placing both sexes more nearly on an equality, with respect to privilege of education, then Legislators will find it their interest to make the proper provision."

This extract is suggestive ; it shows, first, how ardent and enthusiastic the nature of Mrs. Willard was ; how hopeful and confident she was that a good thing, when once seen to be so, would be at once adopted ; how imaginative she was in investing the members of a New York Legislature with the dignity associated with a Roman Senate ; and how ill versed she was in the history of Rome, to invest even a Roman Senate with dignity or moral grandeur. Could she have seen how the members of that senate crouched before political demagogues like Catiline and Clodius—how even the voice of Cicero was disregarded, and how intrigue, passion and interest, ruled then as they do now—she would never have anticipated much encouragement from a body of politicians who, like the press, simply reflect and reëcho the opinions of those they represent. Neither a political body, nor a public press, is in advance of the public sentiment. Neither one nor the other creates opinion or projects enterprises, or even is the first to recognize genius, or virtue, or truth. The opinion-makers are men of genius—they are the wise men who save cities, while personally unimportant. Nothing is advocated by the press, nothing is acted upon by the Legislature, until there is an imperative call from the people themselves, and the people never make this call until enlightened and stimulated by sages and philanthropists. Legislatures are machines, even as the press is a money-making institution. Legislators do nothing until compelled by their constituents. They live in perpetual fear of losing popularity and influence. They are the mere tools of the people. They are dumb dogs, who never bark till told to bark. They

originate nothing. No one, with a scheme, ever appealed to a legislature without protracted delays, and deceitful promises and bitter disappointments, and infinite disgusts. Legislatures never act until they are bidden. They never act except to gain popular favor. They are seldom even patriotic. There are patriotic men among them, even as Cato, and Cicero, and Brutus, were patriots in the Roman Senate. But the great body are timid, or venal, or stupid, or selfish, or cunning, and have an eye to themselves or the wishes of their constituents, and not to the public good. When an enlightened public opinion imperatively demands a reform, then legislators are very patriotic; yet even then a good demanded is often defeated by that miserable scum which floats on the surface of agitation.

Mrs. Willard's appeal to legislators and politicians was premature. The public was not then sufficiently enlightened as to female education, and, until the public were enlightened, all appeals to a Legislature would necessarily fall to the ground.

How few are the benefactors of the world who have not obstacles thrown in their way from the beginning to the end of their career! and fortunate is it for them that they do not become bitter or discouraged. They contend against human ignorance, and selfishness, and prejudice, and these are the forces of the great spirit of evil whose mighty power is not unseen or unfelt in this degenerate world. If there be an ever-active antagonism going on in this world between good and evil, then let us remember that every good scheme is watched with jealous hatred by the "Father of Lies," and cannot be advanced without a long and a bitter fight. Read the history of all benefactors in every age. It is a marvel they have not all died with broken hearts long before they were rewarded with success. It is the most melancholy chapter in history, that which narrates the struggles of genius directed to the amelioration of society.

Even a material good is not advanced without opposition. If it is hard to gain a triumph for a machine to abridge human labor, how much more difficult to succeed in a philanthropic enterprise! Nearly forty years ago I heard an enthusiast lecture on a congress of nations to settle difficulties without an appeal to the sword.¹ He was laughed to scorn, especially by politicians. Yet in his credulity and reverence for Legislatures—such Legislatures as his imagination created, such as were in harmony with his ideal of what a Legislature should be—he began his appeal to these public bodies of crafty and selfish men. He soon was disenchanted. Then he addressed “the wise, the mighty, and the noble;” they formed all their opinions from experience and history, and practically recognized the depravity and imbecility of man; although belonging generally to the “advanced and progressive school,” they professed to hold in contempt such oracles as Augustine and Pascal, whose cardinal and fundamental principles were in accordance with their experience. Then the good man, still enthusiastic, and having faith in truth, assisted by the benevolent and ever-active God of truth, passed by both public bodies and great men, and appealed to the people. Were he now living, he would see in the Geneva Conference the dawn of a glorious day—the rising of a new star in the moral horizon, betokening peace and good-will to men. He was one of those unhonored creators of public opinion which alone is omnipotent in a country like ours. So, if Mrs. Willard, when disheartened and disgusted with her experience with legislators, could have looked forward fifty years, and seen what Legislatures are now doing—yea, could she have seen how much more they will soon be compelled to do for education—she would have felt that her

¹ William Ladd—an untiring laborer in behalf of peace—president of the American Peace Society. He would not have shut up shop when our war began.

labors were not in vain. In subsequent times she felt no regret, since she at last perceived that she was appealing to public opinion, even when unsuccessful with those who represented it. This presentation of her "plan" to the Legislature, doubtless, was the most efficient way to bring it before the people.

But if Mrs. Willard did not get what she expected from the Legislature, she received encouragement from some of the best and greatest men of the nation to whom she unfolded her views. Judge Campbell testified to the interest which his father, Hon. Duncan Campbell, of Georgia, took in her plan—so great that he advocated its principles to the Georgia Legislature, of which he was a prominent member. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, George Combes, Dr. Dick, and other distinguished men, wrote her friendly and encouraging letters; while Livingston, Van Buren, Spencer, and Powell, openly advocated her plan before the New-York Legislature. After all, she had every encouragement she could reasonably expect—the sympathy of distinguished men in various parts of the country, and of the friends of education generally. It was diffused far and near. It was generally known, which made her known.

I cannot find many details respecting the school when established in Waterford, except that it was prosperous and respected. Eminent men attended her examinations, on which she ever placed great importance. In a letter to her cousin, John Hinsdale, in 1820, she says: "That this school affords advantages superior, in proportion to the expense, to any other school in our country is, I think, evident from the fact that the pupils are not expected to pay the whole expense of the institution. A part is defrayed by *subscription*, and a part by the literary fund.

"What I conceive to be the superior advantages of the school are these: we have a very large building, which

affords a good accommodation as to room, and we have a sufficient number of instructors, who each have their peculiar branches to teach; and we have a highly-respectable board of trustees, who, while they afford the instructors some security against the caprice of individual opinion, also stand committed to the public that no deception shall be practised by the instructors.

“From these advantages we are enabled to make many useful recitations which otherwise we could not; but perhaps I can in no way give you a more definite idea of our proceedings than by describing the ordinary routine of business for the day. We rise at five or six in the morning, then assemble for devotions, and then spend nearly an hour in recitations. From half-past seven to half-past eight our domestic teacher takes charge of those who are to be instructed in matters likely to increase their domestic knowledge, taking care that they write receipts of whatever cooking they do. Though not required, all my pupils belong to this department. Our study-hours are from nine till twelve, and from two till five in the afternoon, and from eight till nine in the evening. The young ladies who board with me study in their rooms; but they are not permitted to have loud talking, or any disorder, or to pass from room to room in school-hours. As our house is large, we are enabled to have different recitation-rooms for the different classes. One of our teachers is wholly devoted to the ornamental branches. Our terms are forty-two dollars per quarter for board and tuition in all the branches taught, except music and dancing. Music is ten dollars extra per quarter. The pupils furnish their own bed and bedding; we wish them also to furnish their own spoons, knives and forks, and candle-sticks.”

It would thus appear that Mrs. Willard's labors at Waterford were continuous and severe. And yet, amid them all, she had time for other things. Such was her reputa-

tion at this early period of her educational career that she was requested by some young ladies in New Hampshire to furnish them with a scheme for the successful prosecution of literary studies. "Hearing," say they, "that you were a patroness of useful learning, and presuming you would approve of our feeble efforts for its promotion, we have blended your name with the name of our society." To which communication Mrs. Willard replies, and in a handwriting which is absolutely beautiful, with great courteousness, giving the best advice for their peculiar efforts. Always was she interested in any plan for the elevation of her sex; and those who sought her aid were sure of her sympathy.

Mrs. Willard did not continue long in Waterford. When the Legislature declined to patronize the institution she projected, by giving sufficient aid, she listened to overtures from the people of Troy to remove the seminary to their city, offering superior advantages. But the reasons for removal are best stated by herself, in the following letter to her mother :

"You will, perhaps, wonder at our removal. A short account of the matter is this : That the lease of the house expires in May. The people of the town have not made provision for a suitable building; the Legislature has not furnished us the means of making one. The corporation and citizens of Troy proposed to do for the promotion of my plan what we had petitioned the Legislature to do for it here. After giving the good people due notice of the state of affairs, and their failure to make us any eligible proposal, we have concluded to go to Troy. The corporation have raised four thousand dollars by tax. Another fund has been raised by subscription. They are now erecting a brick building, sixty feet by forty, three stories above the basement; and the basement, raised five feet above the ground, contains a dining-room, as well as kitchen and laundry.

“It seems now as if Providence had opened the way for the permanent establishment of the school on the plan which I wish to execute. I believe, if Troy will give the building, the Legislature will grant the endowment. And I think the chief ground of our failure with the Legislature has been that Waterford has done nothing in a pecuniary way for the permanent success of the object. Members of the Legislature have told me: ‘Your claims, Mrs. Willard, are undoubted, but what has Waterford done? Let Waterford put its own shoulder to the wheel, and then call on Hercules.’”

The building to which this letter refers has been twice subsequently enlarged to about three times its original capacity. In reference to future aid from the Legislature, Mrs. Willard was doomed to a bitter disappointment. Troy did put its shoulder to the wheel, and yet Hercules did not come to the rescue.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TROY SEMINARY, TO THE DEATH OF DR. WILLARD— 1821-1825.

IN the spring of 1821 Mrs. Willard removed her incorporated seminary from Waterford to Troy. The failure to secure adequate aid from the Legislature, and the superior prospects of usefulness held out to her by the new location, in the heart of a young and prosperous city, at that time the most enterprising community of its size out of New England, were the chief reasons. And the rapid progress of the institution justified her sagacity. She brought to Troy a rich experience and unbounded energies. She was then thirty-four years of age, in the fulness of her strength—beautiful, attractive, and intellectual. At this period she was particularly interesting, especially as a woman. Her acquaintance was extensive, and her reputation was settled.

The seminary became at once celebrated, and young ladies from the first families of the country were sent to Troy to enjoy the great advantages afforded. The citizens provided a large and commodious building, in the centre of the city, surrounded with churches and public buildings, and in front of a beautiful square. This building was leased to Dr. Willard by the corporation. A large corps of able teachers was employed, most of whom had been

educated and trained to the profession of teaching by Mrs. Willard. Accomplished professors taught the modern languages, music, and painting. The studies were greatly enlarged, especially in mathematics, history, and natural philosophy. In no female school in the country was education so complete and extended. It was Mrs. Willard's conviction that young women were capable of applying themselves to the higher branches of knowledge as well as young men in colleges. Moreover, she contemplated the education of young ladies as teachers; and it was one of her aims to fit them for their useful and ennobling calling—to give a new dignity to women as teachers, and in those departments which, before her day, were presided over by educated men.

Her seminary was a normal school, to train teachers as well as educate young ladies for the duties of life. She had herself given great attention to geometry, algebra, and natural philosophy. When in Middlebury, she had mastered the elements of Euclid without a teacher, for her own self-improvement. In Waterford she taught geometry with great success to her pupils, one of whom, Miss Cramer, created great admiration for her wonderful progress in a science which, with girls, is apt to be a mere exercise of the memory. She sought to develop the logical faculty of her pupils, with the primary view of strengthening their minds. She was one of the first of modern educators to dwell on the importance of bringing out the latent powers of the mind. It was not to amuse or dazzle her pupils that she labored, with enthusiastic zeal, in this new field, but to strengthen and develop intellect—to show that the female mind could grasp abstract subjects. And this is the great revolution she made in female education. And so successfully did she inspire her pupils with her own zeal in mathematical attainments, that some of her earliest pupils became celebrated as teachers of mathematics in

other institutions. The spirit of instruction at Troy was zeal for the solid branches of study, rather than for the lighter and more common ones, which, it would seem, were only pursued before her day. The studies at a fashionable boarding-school in 1820 would seem frivolous to the pupils of even a fashionable school of 1870. No one questions the great advance which has taken place, within a single generation, from the impulse, in no slight degree, which Mrs. Willard gave at Troy.

When she commenced her educational labors at Waterford, she found great obstacles in the miserable text-books then in use. And she was thus induced to prepare one herself on an important subject—geography. Mr. Woodbridge, at the same time, felt the need, as she did, of a better book than any in common use, and devoted himself, simultaneously with Mrs. Willard, in writing a geography. The similarity of their plans induced them to prepare a book together, which was published in 1821, and immediately attracted notice, and passed through several editions. In this text-book she claimed to introduce a new system, chiefly to secure facility of acquirement and durability of impression. And this was effected by maps and charts, which appealed to the eye rather than the memory. Her arrangement, also, of tables relieved the memory from a useless burden, by substituting few numbers for many. “A person who knows,” said she, in her preface, “by rote merely, that a city contains a certain number of inhabitants, cannot, from that circumstance, be said to understand its rank—that is, he does not know whether it is a great or small city, for all ideas of great and small are relative, and are obtained by comparing things with others of their kind.

“With regard to durability of impression, we discard that method of arrangement generally found in descriptions of countries where many distinct and dissimilar sub-

jects are treated of in quick succession, because, from the want of associating principle, information received in this way cannot be well remembered. We admit little which may not be traced to one of these two laws of intellect: that the objects of sight more readily become the subjects of conception and memory than those of the other senses; and, secondly, that the best of all methods to abridge the labors of the mind, and to enable the memory to lay up the most in the smallest compass, is to class particulars under general heads.

“That this method of teaching geography is a judicious application of these principles, has become evident to me from observing the fact that, of all the branches of study which my pupils learn, geography taught in this manner is that which they most easily call to recollection; and that this is the case, whether my examination takes place after the lapse of a few months, or a few years.

“But in none of the objects of education do I conceive that this system is so peculiar as in that which relates to the discipline of the mind; and none are, to my mind, of so much importance. Although it is of consequence to teach the student *what* to think, yet it is much more important to learn him *how* to think. However well it may be for a man to have a good knowledge of geography, yet it is better for him to have a sound judgment and a well-regulated intellect. Capacity of mind is acquired by this habit of study, which cultivates the powers of abstraction and generalization. The study of geography has heretofore been regarded as a mere exercise of the memory; but, taught in this manner, it brings into action the power of comparison, thus laying the foundation, not only of good scholarship in the science of which it treats, but of a sound judgment and enlarged understanding. Notwithstanding this system has never been published, yet it has been brought to the full test of experiment. It is nearly eight

years since I began to teach geography in this method which I have recommended. Intending to publish my plan of instruction, I carefully watched its operation in the minds of my pupils, while at the same time I studied it, the most approved system of the philosophy of the mind, and my success in teaching it far surpassed my expectations.”¹

There may be differences of opinion how far Mrs. Willard carried out in her geography the principles she lays down; but there can be no doubt as to the excellence and importance of these principles, which she was among the first to apply. There will also be made, necessarily, improvements in all text-books, which are prepared conscientiously by experienced teachers having in view the improvement of the mind. No man, however great his learning, can make a dictionary, or an encyclopædia, which will not be improved by subsequent scholars, as knowledge is advanced and language becomes perfected. Webster and Worcester are greatly in advance of Johnson, who is now generally superseded. Yet no one questions the genius and valuable labors of Johnson in giving a great stimulus to his department. No one denies that he was a great benefactor of mind, even if his dictionary is no longer the leading text-book. Every generation enters upon the legacy of the past, and begins where the former left off. There may be better geographies than what Mrs. Willard prepared, but there was no better one in her day, or any one more generally appreciated.

This new system of geography was the only book which Mrs. Willard wrote during the first few years of the Troy Female Seminary, of which she was the founder. But it may be also mentioned that her instructions, during this period, in mathematics, were remarkably thorough, and far in advance of any other of the kind then taught in

¹ Preface to Woodbridge and Willard's Geography.

schools. In these advanced studies she had in view that discipline of mind which must ever be regarded as a fundamental principle in education. It was, at that period, generally supposed that mathematics were unfit for young ladies, but she proved by the able band of teachers which she trained in this department that the common prejudices were unfounded. She demonstrated, and was one of the first to demonstrate, that there are no subjects which young men can grasp which cannot equally be mastered by young ladies; and this experiment goes far to prove the intellectual equality of men and women. It is in physical forces that women are most plainly unequal to men, and it is only when severe intellectual labors overtask physical energies that women fail. Hence the professions are unfit for women, since they involve physical labors which are uninterrupted, and which, if pursued with ardor, are apt to undermine the constitution. The successful authors among women have, generally, extraordinary constitutions, and a physical force almost masculine. But, because the constitution of a woman will not bear the strain of that of a man, it is no valid reason why the mind of a woman should not be stretched to the utmost extent her body is able to bear. It may be that it is only the comparative weakness of the body which has prevented women from gaining the highest prizes of authorship. Those who have attended the examinations of the Troy Seminary for fifty years bear witness to ability of young ladies to make as great proficiency in mathematics as young men of the same age.

But while great attention was given to the development of the reasoning powers, the higher exercises were not neglected which tend to grace and practical utility. *Æsthetics* were held in high value, since woman's charm depends much on beauty. Mrs. Willard sought to promote health, and graceful movements, and amiable dispositions

—whatever would render woman attractive, interesting, or influential, was her aim to cultivate. And such was the reputation of this school, in these respects, that young ladies from the first families of the country were sent to it to be educated. In a few years it was established in the confidence of the whole country, and was undoubtedly the leading institution of the kind.

And the main cause of this signal success was, that Mrs. Willard embarked upon the profession of teaching with a high ideal before her. The great aim with her was to make the school a good one. It was not to make money so much as to make good scholars. It was their improvement and elevation which chiefly occupied her mind, and for this end she was indefatigable. Her motto was *excelsior*. Her profession was an art. She loved this art as Palestrina loved music, and Michael Angelo loved painting, and it was its own reward.

During these years, when the school was first established, Mrs. Willard had many vexations as well as cares, and she was subject to many misrepresentations which were hard to bear. But she had health, and vigor, and hope, and she was encouraged and cheered by her husband, and lived amid the beatitudes of a happy home. Her domestic life, it would seem, was serene and beautiful. All her correspondence, at this time, shows great domestic happiness, which increased with time.

Mrs. Willard was much assisted, at this period, by her sister Mrs. Lincoln, who lost her husband in 1823, and came the following year to Troy, took charge of the government of the school-room and day-pupils; and, during the illness of Dr. Willard in 1825, she had the general direction of the educational department, and for nine years Mrs. Lincoln labored in the seminary, rendering great assistance, and gaining that rich experience which enabled her subsequently to become so successful in a kindred institu-

tion. It was during her career at Troy that she prepared her work on botany, so widely used in the best schools of the country. In her enthusiastic studies in natural science, she was much aided by Professor Amos Eaton, then in charge of the scientific school established by Stephen Van Rensselaer at Troy, and which now is known as the Polytechnic School. And it is but just to Mrs. Lincoln to say that, though the Female Seminary was founded by Mrs. Willard, yet it received a great impulse from the labors of Mrs. Lincoln, especially in the scientific department. Geology, chemistry, and botany, alike were favorite studies at the seminary, as might be supposed, under so able and enthusiastic a teacher as Mrs. Lincoln. The relations between these sisters, Mrs. Willard and Mrs. Lincoln, continued, to the death of the older sister, of the most pleasant kind, without envy and without reproach. Both were experienced teachers and both were authors, chiefly of educational works, Mrs. Willard confining herself to history and geography, and Mrs. Lincoln to botany, chemistry, geology, and natural philosophy, besides several other works. In 1831 she was married to the Hon. John Phelps, a prominent lawyer in Vermont. In 1838 she became principal of a female seminary in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and in 1841 she assumed the charge of the Patapsco Institute at Ellicott Mills, Maryland, with the coöperation of her husband, who died in 1849. She continued this institution, with distinguished success, till 1856, when she retired, under the pressure of a severe affliction—the death of her daughter, Jane Lincoln, who was killed by a railroad accident. She has since resided at Baltimore, devoting herself to botany and scientific labors. She was the second woman who became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, many of the members of which had reason to be proud of the elegant hospitality she dispensed when the Association met in Baltimore in 1858.

CHAPTER VII.

1825-1830.

DR. WILLARD died in May, 1825, and his death threw the entire burden of the institution upon his wife. He had been the sole manager of the pecuniary affairs of the seminary, as well as physician and counsellor. Without his aid it may be doubted whether it could have been efficiently started.

He was considerably older than his wife, being born in 1759. The disparity was twenty-eight years, which, at first, led to unpleasant relations with some of his children. Nothing is more natural than this. There is nothing which can be more readily palliated. It would seem that there is a natural aversion and mistrust, on the part of grown-up children, for a step-mother, however excellent her character, and which can only be removed by those qualities which win respect and confidence. A boy of eighteen, or a girl of eighteen, cannot force a love for a mother not much older than themselves. It is hypocrisy to pretend it. Children may be respectful and attentive, out of love and regard for a father, but they cannot love a stranger as a mother until this love is earned by devotion to them, by tact, by gentleness, and by real kindness of heart. Now, Mrs. Willard conquered a natural mistrust, and won the love of her husband's children, though not

until she was obliged to tell them some plain truths, and with considerable spirit. To her step-son F—— she wrote, in 1821:

“I look back with regret to some of the last days we spent in Hartford. I confess I am more easily irritated by you than by any other person. The reason of this is that, what comes from you, falls upon a wound which once was so deep that it undermined my health, and all but destroyed my reason. I allude to the treatment which I received from your father’s family after I entered it. In the sacred presence of that God before whom we must all appear, I sincerely declare that I forgive you, and allude to it only to say I do not think you are yet wholly free from certain false opinions upon which that conduct proceeded. One of these is that I married your father from motives of interest rather than affection. I have heard from many sources that such was your belief. I have felt that I could never stoop to vindicate myself from such a charge; but, Frank, my mind is softened in regard to you. I will stoop to any thing that shall make you live as you ought, or die, if die you must, forgiving and forgiven. I therefore tell you that you are mistaken in the supposition that I married your father without affection for his person. A little candid reflection upon my conduct soon after our marriage—for you were old enough to remember it—would, I should think, satisfy you that, though it might be strange that so young a woman should love a man so much older than herself, yet love him I did with uncommon ardor of affection. Can you not remember how I wept at his departure? how I watched and counted the days till he should return? For his sake I gave up my literary ambition, and became a domestic drudge. Had I married him for his property or office, when these were taken from him I should have ceased to treat him with respect. But, instead of this, I was his comforter in that trying period;

and, when poverty stared us in the face, I voluntarily stepped forward and commenced my exertions as a teacher. Nor had I, at that time, any of those projects of ambition which have since animated me; but my sole object was to assist your father in his pecuniary affairs. It is true I was young when I married, but, my mind in some respects outstripping my years, I had for a long time before my marriage formed my intimacies among people of nearly your father's age. Dr. Todd and Dr. Wells were among my intimate friends at this season. And why should I have married your father from other than pure motives? My standing in society was as good as his. My income arising from the exercise of my talents, of which I was fond, was more than sufficient for my support. My brothers in Virginia were wealthy, and anxious I should live with them. Your father was not rich, and he always told me so. Perhaps if all the men in the world had stood before me at my disposal, I might have loved some one else, but in youth one must love, and was there any one in Middlebury that I should so likely to love as your father? Indeed, Frank, I often think you undervalue your father. In several respects he is a man peculiarly calculated to gain a woman's affection, and he certainly deserves and possesses mine."

Such was the plain talk she gave her step-son, calculated to disarm all his secret hostilities, to portray her own disinterested and noble nature, to give dignity to her love, and to exalt the character of her husband. A man must be very unappreciating, indeed, not to have respected such a step-mother. And this remarkable letter brings out the pleasant relations between herself and husband, which continued to the last, because both were worthy.

Dr. JOHN WILLARD was born in Madison, Connecticut, of a good stock. He studied medicine, and was much esteemed as a practitioner, as well as for his general attainments. He

settled in Middlebury about the year 1790, when the country was new, and when medical science was at a low ebb. He was a believer in Nature as the chief restorer in disease, and had a contempt of the practice of country doctors in his times. Dr. Willard was a politician, and, in 1801, received from Mr. Jefferson the appointment of Marshal of the District of Vermont, and henceforth abandoned the practice of medicine. His political career more fully developed the energies of his mind and character. He was not only marshal of the district, but supervisor of the taxes, paymaster of pensions, and a director of the Vermont State Bank. He was also chairman of the Republican Central Committee, and the victory of his party was much owing to his voice, his pen, and his vigorous management. His success as a leader of his party was not more marked than his love of justice and his zeal for his country's welfare. He loved Vermont, and thought its constitution the best of any State in the Union. And it was his stern and unbending integrity which lost him the favor of the politicians.

His subsequent marriage, and loss of office, and financial embarrassments, and removal to Waterford and Troy, have been alluded to. He died May 29, 1825, beloved and esteemed. The last years of his life were devoted to the institution of which he was a founder, and he was remarkably liberal in all his views, and entirely devoid of the pride of sex.

In his earlier life he was not religious, but later he entered the communion of the Episcopal Church, and his last tedious and painful illness of three months was soothed by the services of the Rev. Dr. Butler, and he died "in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope."

On the death of her beloved husband—her partner, co-worker, and best friend—Mrs. Willard returned to her work, bowed down with grief, and emaciated by constant

watching and care. She was now left to attend to her own finances, in addition to her other duties. And she rapidly matured all the details of business, for which she had rare talents, and kept her own books. She simplified her labors, and took good care to have no debts, paying her bills twice a year.

But, with the increase of her school, the enlargement of her building, her own good management, and the revenues she derived from her geographies, which had an unparalleled circulation, she soon secured independence and considerable wealth. Money came to her. She did not seek money. Nor did she ever attach much value to it, except as a means to an end, and for the sake of being useful. Her style of life, at this period, was free and generous, and her house was open to her friends. Hospitality was one of her most marked virtues.

With the increase of duties was also the enlargement of her friendships and correspondence. The following, to Maria Edgeworth, reveals something of her views on education at this period, 1825-1830: "An English traveller attended for a time upon my last examination. He said to me, on leaving: 'Madam, you are making a grand experiment here; we have nothing to compare with it on our side of the water; but I fear you are educating girls too highly, and that they will not be willing to marry.' But I have never experienced any difficulty of this sort. The young men sought them so resolutely for wives that I could not keep them for teachers. The teachers are generally interesting to young ladies whom I have educated myself. And I do think we have made arrangements which have obviated evils that have heretofore existed in public schools."

In less than a year from the death of Dr. Willard, his only son, John, by Emma Willard, entered as a cadet at West Point, having been previously under the care of

Rev. Mr. Huntingdon, of Hadley, and of Mr. Adams, of Bennington, and Captain Partridge, at Middletown, where he was reputed as one of the best scholars. It was, even then, exceedingly difficult to secure admission into this military academy. But she succeeded, through the influence of Governor Clinton and Governor Van Ness, and other influential friends, who were ever ready to second her wishes. He entered in June, and enjoyed the friendship of Colonel Mansfield and of Professor Davies, which has never been broken, and was almost domesticated in their houses. Mrs. Willard's letters to her son at West Point are numerous and interesting, giving the best advice, and inculcating lofty principles of action. It is clear that her heart was bound up in her son. But, as these letters are such as all good women write to absent children anxious for their welfare and jealous of their affections, it is not necessary to reproduce them. They do not materially relate to her public affairs or shed light on her character. She enjoins him to write oftener and to write longer letters; to shun bad company; to avoid the use of tobacco; to be diligent in his studies; to be prepared for his examinations; to be respectful to his teachers; to take care of his health, and to be economical in his expenses—these and similar topics fill up nearly two hundred letters. The following letter may, however, show the good sense which is blended with maternal solicitude: "My hopes for your future course are high. I think you have now seen so much of the operation of good and bad conduct, that an enlightened regard to self-interest would lead you of yourself about right. I hope you have both the love and fear of God before your eyes, to invite you to virtue and warn you from evil; and I hope you will never be ashamed or afraid to maintain in all companies all virtuous sentiments, and frown decidedly on vicious ones. Now, John, hear me prophesy: Have the courage to form yourself on the model

of character which I propose to you, and it will not only be what your duty requires, but it will be setting you forward as a leader in society, and make you looked up to and admired by that class of females whose education and character and standing place them among the first. Let gentleness, and kindness, and sweetness of nature, accompany manly seriousness and graceful dignity. You have at times a fault which you came honestly by—that of a kind of gasconade—you have the appearance of affecting wit, but the affectation of gayety and frolicking does not become you. You are naturally serious and contemplative, and, if I may say it, something peculiarly manly about you; and hence dignity and grace, not jests and tricks and prettiness, should be your ambition.”

I need not quote other letters to show parental solicitude. Parental solicitude for an only son is a noble instinct; and it may be doubted whether there is a boy at school or college in this whole country who does not at times occasion solicitude; and, were it not for this solicitude and the counsels which are prompted by it, young men would be liable to be led astray. Parents cannot be too solicitous about their absent sons, exposed to the temptations of college-life, where false sentiments so often prevail, and where what has been learned has to be unlearned in the subsequent experiences of life. A college or a public school is a good place for boys—chiefly, however, for the discipline of mind acquired, and that just estimate of abilities made by competition, by which absurd vanity and conceit are exorcised, and which, unless exorcised, expose a young man to many sad rebuffs. The great difference between young men educated in colleges and those educated at home, or by themselves in the obscure village, is the conceit and audacity, almost ludicrous, which generally characterize self-educated men. It would be easy to point out notable examples, especially among those who have

regulated the public press; but we will not quarrel with the "great power of modern times." But, while colleges take the conceit out of boys, and discipline their minds, yet it must be confessed they are very dangerous places to young men whose principles are not fixed before they go there. And these are fixed by anxious parents. Mrs. Willard *was* an anxious parent, and the fruit of her solicitude is the character of her son. Monica was anxious, but where would St. Augustine have been without her counsels and fears? A mother without solicitude for her sons is no mother at all, for there are few boys who will not be led away without her watchings and counsels. The sacredness and affections of home are the safeguard of colleges, and even of female schools. And no one knew this better than Mrs. Willard herself.

The following letter, written to a pupil in 1828—Anne M. Barney—shows the spirit of Mrs. Willard's care and interest for those who were placed under her charge and instructions: "I feel a great desire, my dear Anne, that you should set out in a right course at this critical juncture of your life. Great prudence is necessary for every young lady; but it appears to me to be particularly so for you, on account of the peculiarities of your situation. You have, doubtless, many kind friends who will advise you as they shall deem for your best good, but their advice is not like that of a parent; it cannot relieve you from the responsibility of your actions. Your friends, too, you will find to possess different opinions, so that you could not, if disposed, give yourself up to their guidance, for it would lead you into opposite courses; and, if you sometimes follow one and sometimes another, your conduct and character would be void of consistency.

"In such a situation I do not see but you ought to lay out for yourself such a plan of life, as, following the dictates your best judgment shall seem to you the wisest, to

secure your best interests for time and eternity; and believe me, my dear Anne, you will find them all in the same path. In the strait, plain, and narrow way that leads to eternal life you will find the best blessings of this life—peace of conscience and reputation. To preserve this latter, we must guard not only the reality but the appearance of innocence. Next to this is health. Another blessing is competence. No young person, who indulges in habits of wanton and thoughtless expense and an idle waste of time, can expect to enjoy this blessing when old. If poor, with these virtues we may become rich; if rich, we shall, without them, become poor. A highly-cultivated mind is another blessing. Hence read history, and, if possible, in the languages which you have studied; it will keep you from that desire of gadding about which is so fatal to the improvement of your sex; and, as self-improvement is the work which is laid out for you, you must still consider yourself at school—at school! to whom? To yourself and God. And, when sorrows oppress you, consider that He corrects us for our faults in fatherly tenderness—He gives us *trials of our faith*. If the joys of this world are fleeting, so are its sorrows; and, if well borne, they will in the end crown us with glory.”

There is nothing in Mrs. Willard’s letters which please me more than her beautiful handwriting—legible and graceful. The following letter, to B. B. Tyler, relates to this subject of penmanship, which is of much more importance than young ladies generally suppose :

“SIR: The requisites of a good system of useful penmanship appear to me to be these :

“1. Legibility. 2. Facility of execution. 3. Elegance.

“Every system which fails in either of these is defective. The object of writing is lost if it is illegible, and persons may better not write at all. In business, illegible

writing leads to great perplexities; in friendly correspondence, we annoy our friends when we wish to give them pleasure; and it is highly disrespectful to write to strangers, or to those where deference is due, in a hand that will cause them trouble to decipher. The sharp, angular hand, so fashionable in England and in many parts of this country, is illegible. The round, copper-plate hand, after all, is the standard, and it combines, in as perfect a manner as possible, legibility and elegance. Every pupil should be taught to write it. The book-keeper wants it to write the names of persons at the head of his ledger, and various occasions present themselves in which it shows itself as an elegant attainment. But, as it has been found by experience that, as it cannot be written rapidly, if pupils are taught only this, they will, in the course of their practice, drop it, and generally substitute a bad hand in its place. To guard against this, they should be taught to use a good running hand, and preparatory exercises should be arranged with a view to give flexibility. To secure legibility, care should be taken, in the execution of pieces, not to make any strokes but those belonging to the letters. Perhaps as many persons make their writing illegible by excess as by defect. On this principle capitals in the middle of a piece of writing should not be flourished, but made with only their essential stroke. It is my custom to keep my pupils to their writing-lessons for years, but not to allow them to write long at a time. The introduction of the ruled black lines to write upon has, I think, done disservice to penmanship. Persons accustomed to write on these execute with less freedom. They are embarrassed when they have occasion to write a closer or more open hand than ordinary, or when obliged to perform a piece of writing without them."

This extract may seem to be of trivial importance to

young people who scrawl long and poor letters, but it is any thing but trivial to those who are afflicted with an extensive correspondence, or to those who have to decipher manuscripts, or to people of business generally. If Mrs. Willard's letters had been as illegible as most of the letters which she received, the writer of this memoir never could have got through with this pleasant task. To an irritable and impatient man nothing is so great a bore, nothing stirs up all his bad passions, nothing produces despair, so much as a handwriting that cannot be read. Mrs. Willard was a practical and sensible woman, and that is the reason she took so much pains with chirography.

The following extract, from a letter to the late Rev. Dr. Beman, of Troy—one of the giants of his day—shows how Mrs. Willard, while aiming to secure the religious instruction of her pupils, yet avoided every thing sectarian. She had no idea of keeping a narrow school to please any body of religious people, however respectable they were :

“MR. BEMAN.

“REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: Your kind offer, communicated through Miss Burritt, of assisting me in my endeavors to impart religious instruction to the minds of my young pupils, is, in many respects, agreeable to me; yet there are some objections which you will pardon me, sir, if I freely state.

“I have reason to believe that the parents of a portion of my pupils would be wholly dissatisfied with such a measure. I am confident that you, sir, will agree with me in opinion that it is not proper for a person keeping a school—professedly not for any particular religious sect—to suffer the religious education of that school to become sectarian. Yet, that religious instruction should be faithfully given to every assemblage of young persons, you, sir, cannot believe more sincerely or more feelingly than my-

self. Two courses there are before the principal of an institution like mine: the one, to invite clergymen of every Christian denomination to claim alternately the attention of my pupils; the other, which I have adopted, of faithfully endeavoring to furnish the pupils with instruction in the fundamental truths of natural and revealed religion, being careful to stop at these points where different Christian sects divide, and referring them on these points to such religious instruction as the parents of each individual shall choose for their child. On this plan no parent has, I think, a right to complain; but, on the other, every one would by turns be dissatisfied. I apprehend that the general opinion of the Christian community would be against presenting to young minds a diversity of religious sentiments by a frequent change of religious teachers, as no judicious Christian would advise any one, especially a young female, to be frequently changing in her place of attending public worship from one religious denomination to another.

“A large number of my dear pupils, by the wish of their parents, enjoy the right of the blessed Gospel as dispensed in the Presbyterian Society. A portion of these have, as I hope, turned their youthful feet to the testimonies of the Lord. To you, sir, they look as their spiritual director, and I think their case requires your particular attention. When you have the leisure, I should be happy to confer with you on the subject, so that the time may be selected which will be most convenient to you, and also that those literary objects may be kept in view for which their parents have placed them here.

“Very respectfully your friend and servant,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

In this letter we see great liberality with great good sense combined, with a true desire for the religious im-

provement of her pupils. She proposes to teach the whole school the fundamental principles of natural and revealed religion, so far as they do not trench on sectarian differences; and then, for further instruction, she turns over her pupils to those religious teachers whom their parents have selected. And this, I believe, was her policy from first to last, and has since been continued by her successor. She herself was an Episcopalian—not high, not low—not broad, not dry; neither a ritualist clinging to the usages which the Catholic Church borrowed from the Jewish ceremonial, and laying great stress on baptismal regeneration, fasts, feasts, and holidays; nor a latitudinarian, with the creed of a Galileo—broad as the progressive school of scientific infidels. She was an Episcopalian of another age and generation, when there was little difference between “the Church” and orthodox denominations in doctrine, and when the chief distinction lay in the forms of public worship. So far as Mrs. Willard’s views resembled the different parties in the Episcopal Church, I should say she would have sympathized with those who combined evangelical sentiments with broad catholicity. She was no admirer of pretension which could not be sustained by reason and Scripture; nor had she any sympathies with a *disguised Romanism*. She loved the truth, and loved the forms of worship which were reverential, beautiful, and æsthetic. She did not go to the Episcopal Church because it was fashionable, or aristocratic, or exclusive, but because it embodied the doctrines of the Reformation in a form which harmonized with her feelings. But she never proselytized. She allowed the girls to attend *any* church which their parents wished. She never sought to convert them to Episcopacy, or to detach them from Presbyterianism. She was better pleased to see them converted to God, and maintain His fear as the beginning of wisdom. There never was a school more free from all sectarian influences,

where religious instruction was at the same time held in high value. There are some schools established for the express aim of conversion to a particular sect or form, utterly Jesuitical in spirit, and narrow as mediæval piety. There are others which profess to be liberal, and are liberal so far as utter indifference to all religion is the marked peculiarity—schools which, having given up the spirit of religion, end in relinquishing also its forms. But the institution founded by Mrs. Willard was neither one nor the other, nor half-way between them. She was conscientious and assiduous in teaching religion as revealed in the Bible; and, when she came to the differences of religious belief, she turned her pupils over to those who taught the differences, which, in the eyes of many, were greater and more important than the fundamental principles themselves. So deep a hold have Phariseisms, and Jesuitisms, and sectarianisms, on the human mind. If the clergy unanimously sought to bring the soul to God, and inculcate a fear and love of Him, and teach the paths of virtue and righteousness, there would be but one Church, for then there would be left nothing to quarrel about. But, unfortunately, a great many love their party better than their cause, their sect better than Christianity, which is greater than all sects and parties. To the eyes of all bigots a part is greater than the whole. There is nothing for which I hold Mrs. Willard in more respect than her uniform custom of keeping free from all sectarian influences; not that she did not have preferences, but because she was too broad and liberal to be fettered and bound. And such a policy as hers was preëminently needed in a seminary of girls from all parts of the country, and of divers creeds and opinions. And this policy secured the respect of the various clergy of the city, who ever remained her friends. She was on good terms with all, even when they were stern, polemical, or exacting. And she was

on good terms, because she kept her independence and preserved her dignity. She also secured the confidence of parents; and so firmly and deeply did she establish her broad and liberal policy, that, from that time to this, the Troy Seminary has never been open to the suspicion of sectarianism. And this great excellence will be appreciated by those who know how difficult it is to make religion an important element of education without falling into the ruts of sects.

Mrs. Willard, with all her peculiar pride of sex and desire to elevate women, was far from being in sympathy with those women who early began the agitation of those intricate questions which pertain to "rights." The following letter to Catherine Beecher, in 1829, is a key to her sentiments on these great questions. Her views may have been subsequently somewhat modified, but all will admit the good sense and masculine force with which she replies to a lady distinguished from her youth, and belonging to a family marked for "peculiar views:"

LETTER FROM MRS. EMMA WILLARD, OF TROY, TO MRS.
CATHERINE E. BEECHER, OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

"TROY FEMALE SEMINARY, *December 26, 1829.*

"TO MISS BEECHER.

"DEAR MADAM: Sincerely do I regret that, in the present instance of an appeal to act jointly with yourself and the highly-respected ladies of Hartford, the case should be one in which my own opinion is not coincident with yours and theirs.

"In reflecting on political subjects, my thoughts are apt to take this direction: The only natural government on earth is that of a family—the only natural sovereign, the husband and father. Other just governments are these sovereigns confederated, that they may together the better secure the advantage of all their families combined. If

they, in their state of union, make laws which, should they be made by a single head of a family, would operate oppressively, or if they neglect to make those general provisions which, in a single case, would be seen to be a culpable want of care, then are they chargeable, as a body, with tyranny or neglect. Were our sex to act unitedly, I should bring the propriety or impropriety of what they might do to the same test. That is, the same things that any one might, with propriety, do in her own family, they might together do for the community. A woman might, with propriety, petition her husband in certain cases; in certain others she could not. She might, in cases where herself, her daughters, or her young children, generally were concerned; because, as these matters fall within her own province, it implies no impeachment of his understanding, his justice, or his generosity, if he had not, without her suggestion, done all that he ought to do; or, if any apprehended wrong was about to be done in any case whatever which had escaped her husband's notice, she might, with propriety, bring the matter to his consideration; or, where his *acknowledged justice* was about to prevail, she might, in behalf of another, sue for his clemency. But, suppose there is a quarrel between two of his tenants, or there is a rumor that he is to change the habitation of one of them, or she learns that he is to take a certain course in an intricate lawsuit, and she (knowing these subjects have occupied much of his thoughts, and that he is preparing still further to investigate them) comes forward, and deciding at once, by the impulse of her feelings, on points so knotty that the most vigorous efforts of his stronger and (on these subjects) far more enlightened understanding had failed to find a satisfactory clew; suppose she here attempts to use the persuasive eloquence of her sex (powerful when applied to its proper purpose) to induce him to act according to her wishes. What, I ask,

would, in a private family, be the result of such an application? Especially what would it be when, in addition to the presumption of her deciding the most high and difficult questions within his jurisdiction, the request which she should make would imply a belief that he had acted, or was about to act, in a manner not only unjust, but cruel and oppressive? Would he not say to her, 'In thus attempting to teach me *my duties*, where, in the mean time, is the performance of *your own*? where the obedience and respect you owe to me?' Thus, instead of serving the cause which she wished to serve, she would but destroy her own influence. And would there not be apt to arise an inquiry into the cause of this unwonted officiousness? and, if any circumstances of the times should be found to be peculiar, would not these be charged with the fault? 'The studies which you pursue,' it might be said, 'have inflated and bewildered you; you are the worse for your knowledge; return to your ignorance.'

"Such a sentence as this, my dear madam, you and I, as guardians of the interests of our sex's education, are alike desirous to avoid; and, when the warm dictates of a generous benevolence shall have given place to sober reflection, I cannot but believe you will agree with me that we cannot, without endangering those interests, interfere with the affair in question.

"Accept, my dear madam, my thanks for the able work which you had the goodness to send me. I have perused it with deep interest. Every effort to advance the cause it advocates has my best wishes for its success.

"Accept, madam, for yourself and the ladies of Hartford, the assurance of my high respect.

"EMMA WILLARD."

I insert here an amusing letter, written in 1829, to her cousin, in which the humorous traits of her mind and

character are brought out with great distinctness. And with this letter we close our chapter on the period from the death of her husband to her visit to Europe.

“SEMINARY, *December 10, 1829.*

“TO J. D. WILLARD, ESQ.

“DEAR COUSIN: Herewith you will receive a present of a pair of woollen stockings, knit by my own hands, and be assured, dear coz, that my friendship for you is as warm as the material, active as the finger-work, and generous as the donation.

“But I consider this present as peculiarly appropriate on the occasion of your marriage. You will remark, firstly, that here are two individuals united in one pair, who are to walk side by side, guarding against coldness, and giving comfort as long as they last. The thread of their texture is mixed, and so, alas! is the thread of life. In these, however, the white is made to predominate, expressing my desire and confidence that thus it will be with the color of your lives. No black is used, for I believe your lives will be wholly free from the black passions of wrath and jealousy. The darkest color here is blue, which is excellent when we do not make it too blue.

“Other appropriate thoughts rise to my mind in regarding these stockings. The most indifferent subjects, when viewed by the mind in a suitable frame, may furnish instructive inferences; as saith the poet:

“‘The iron dogs, the peat and tongs,
The bellows that have leathern lungs,
The fire, wood-ashes, and the smoke,
Do all to righteousness provoke.’

But to the subject. You will perceive that the tops of these stockings (by which I suppose courtship to be represented) are *seamed*, and, by means of *seaming*, are

drawn into a pucker ; but afterward comes a time when the whole is made plain, and continues so to the end and final toeing off. By this I wish you to take occasion to congratulate yourself that you have now come to plain-sailing.

“Again, as the whole of these comely stockings were not made at once, but by the addition of one little stitch after another, put in with skill and discretion, until the whole presents the fair and equal piece of work which you see, so life does not consist of one great action, but millions of little ones combined, and so may it be with your lives—no stitch dropped when duties are to be done, no widenings made when bad principles are to be reproved or economy is to be preserved ; neither *seaming* nor *narrowing* when truth and generosity are in question ; thus every stitch of life made right and set in the right place, none either too large or too small, too tight or too loose—thus may you keep on your smooth and even course, making existence one fair and consistent piece, until, having together passed the heel, you come to the very toe of life ; and here, in the final narrowing off, and dropping the coil of this emblematical pair of warm companions, of comforting associates, nothing appears but white, the token of innocence and peace, of purity and light ; and may you, like these stockings, the final stitch being dropped and the work completed, go together from the place where you were formed to a happier state of existence—a present from earth to heaven !

“Hoping that these stockings and admonitions may meet a cordial reception, I remain, in true-blue friendship, *seemly*, yet without *seeming*, yours from top to toe,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

CHAPTER VIII.

VISIT TO EUROPE.

IN 1825 General Lafayette revisited the country whose independence and nationality he had done so much to secure. His services to the cause of American independence, his friendship with Washington, his labors in behalf of constitutional liberty in France, his sufferings in an Austrian prison, and the mingled gallantry and sentiment, allied with rank, which early gave him prominence and fame, made him an idol to the American people. I well remember with what enthusiasm he was greeted in my native town; how proud I was, with others, a boy of fifteen, to shake his hand, and how popular he made himself by his recognition of old friends. I remember well the public receptions, the lunches, the *fêtes*, the triumphal arches, festooned with flowers, the floral processions, the speeches of prominent men, with which he was welcomed as a second Washington. I doubt if popular enthusiasm has since been called out in this country with such unbounded *éclat*. The great Webster may have excited equal popular admiration and curiosity in his speeches at Bunker Hill and Plymouth Rock, when in the height of his well-merited fame; but the ovations he received were limited to a small extent of country—in and around Boston—the tribute to genius, to intellectual ascendancy. The ovation to Lafayette was national, and given from patriotic gratitude, for respect to moral and chivalrous excellence—

a deeper sentiment than intellectual admiration, which necessarily is confined to a few.

Mrs. Willard, with her admiration for great men, which verged on extravagance, with her ardent patriotism—ever a marked peculiarity with her—and her intensely sympathetic nature, kindled by the general ardor, was peculiarly demonstrative. Her enthusiasm knew no bounds. And hence it was an epoch in her life—a proud day, when she welcomed the patriotic hero and statesman to Troy, and received a visit from him in her seminary. It was an honor which made a profound impression on her soul, and called out the following lines, sung by a chorus of young ladies :

“And art thou, then, dear hero, come ?

And do our eyes behold the man,

Who nerved his arm and bared his breast

For us, ere yet our life began ?

For us and for our native land,

Thy youthful valor dared the war ;

And now, in winter of thine age,

Thou’st come, and left thy loved ones far.

Then deep and dear thy welcome be,

Nor think thy daughters far from thee,

Columbia’s daughters, lo ! we bend,

And claim to call thee father, friend.

“But was’t our country’s rights alone

Impelled Fayette to Freedom’s van ?

No, ’twas the love of human kind—

It was the sacred cause of man ;

It was benevolence sublime,

Like that which sways the eternal mind !

And, benefactor of the world,

He shed his blood for all mankind.

Then deep and dear thy welcome be,

Nor think thy daughters far from thee.

Daughters of human kind we bend,

And claim to call thee father, friend.”

The general was much affected, and, at the close of the singing, with eyes suffused with tears, he said: "I cannot express what I feel on this occasion; but will you, madam, present me with three copies of those lines, to be given by me, as from you, to my three daughters?" The local papers of the day add many details of this visit of Lafayette to Troy, where he received an unusually enthusiastic welcome. But there was nothing more beautiful than the arbor of evergreens, two hundred feet long, which the seminary erected in a night, and the parade of the girls, all dressed in white, with appropriate banners.

And not merely because Lafayette had been a glorious defender of liberty, but also because he was interested in every movement for the elevation of society, was Mrs. Willard's enthusiasm called out. The result of this visit to Troy was a cordial invitation from the general to Mrs. Willard to visit him in France. It would seem, from the letters which passed between them, that a strong mutual friendship arose. He exerted himself personally to procure her a French teacher as early as 1827. The following extract, from one of his letters, will show the estimation in which Mrs. Willard was held by him:

"LA GRANGE, *October 29, 1827.*

"DEAR AND RESPECTED MADAM: Your kind letter, July 5th, has afforded me the double gratification I shall ever find in the testimonies of your friendship and of your confidence.

"I feel the great importance of the commission intrusted to my care. As a warm and grateful admirer of the Female Seminary of Troy, as a respectful and affectionate friend of Mrs. Willard, I have, I confess, a very exalted notion of the requisite qualities to be associated with such an institution and its directress.

"My first application has been to Mlle. S——n, an inti-

mate friend of ours, who herself directs a seminary of the highest order in Paris, whose principles, sentiments, and talents, render her the fittest person I know, to find and to guarantee what we want. The result of a late conversation with my daughter-in-law has been that, though it has often happened that she has had it in her power to procure the object of our inquiries, she knew no one at the present who would fully answer the purpose. But she will endeavor to discover it.

“My researches will not be limited to one source of information. I shall seek everywhere; and, should I be so happy as to meet your views, shall not lose time to advise you by the regular packets. We remain in the country until January, making some occasional calls in town: one of them will be next month, to the marriage of my son’s eldest daughter to a most amiable young man. No opportunity will be neglected to execute my confidential and much-valued charge.

“My three daughters have been highly sensible of your goodness in the affectionate wish you have been pleased to express. Should it be possible to part with the young women, there is no person on either side of the Atlantic from whom such a proposal would be more welcome and highly appreciated. I wish, dear madam, we could receive you under our friendly roof of La Grange, where my daughters love to recall the happy memories of Troy, and singing what has been my delight to hear from my amiable young friends, to whom I beg you to offer my best regards and good wishes. My son begs to be respectfully remembered to you, in which sentiments the whole American colony of La Grange join most cordially.

“Your affectionate and grateful friend,

“LAFAYETTE.”

This letter reveals two or three things: 1. The respect

which he entertained for Mrs. Willard, and his grateful recollection of Troy hospitalities. 2. His courteous and urbane and chivalrous character. 3. His proficiency in the English language. It was one of Mrs. Willard's peculiarities to aspire to the confidence and respect of great men, and she rarely was mistaken in the objects of her regard. If she had been less intensely American and less self-conscious, she would have been more timid and reserved. She corresponded with many of the most eminent and busy men of her day, and was not regarded as presuming. What was a natural impulse with her would have been audacity in others. She was so absorbed with her mission that no man was regarded as beyond her sphere of influence.

The desire to see the old seats of European civilization has been little short of a passion with educated Americans, of both sexes, the last fifty years. But, half a century ago, a visit to Europe was attended with many inconveniences, and was comparatively rare. Mrs. Willard could not resist the desire of gratifying her curiosity, improving her mind, increasing her knowledge, and enlarging her friendships, especially as she travelled under many advantages, and with all the letters of introduction she desired. The seminary had flourished. She was independent, and could well afford the pleasure. So, leaving the institution in the care of her sister, Mrs. Lincoln, in whom she had perfect confidence, and reason to have, she embarked, October, 1830, at New York, in the ship *Charlemagne*, accompanied by her son John, for the Old World.

Mrs. Willard's letters and journal during her absence are even now interesting, although so much has been written by American travellers of their experience abroad—ever fresh, ever new. The old-fashioned voyage in a sailing-vessel, although it took up so much time, and was attended with so many discomforts, was, in many respects,

more exciting and agreeable than the modern trip in a steamer. Few would, indeed, exchange the steamer for the sailing-packet, but the voyage in the latter was doubtless more poetic and instructive. The captain, in those times, was a very great personage, and also generally very polite and attentive, and the happiness of the passengers was intimately connected with his humor and his fancies. In these times no one cares who the captain is, and very little is seen of him. Fifty years ago he was a potentate to be feared and courted, at the head of his table in the cabin.

Mrs. Willard disembarked at Havre, 24th of October, feeling the deep interest which the costumes of the people, the strange aspect of the shops, the different architectural styles, the unintelligible language, the curious manners and customs, ever excite in the minds of intelligent people when they first land on a foreign shore. Who can forget the enjoyment, after a long voyage, of the first dinner at a European hotel? And how every pleasure or discomfort is magnified by the imagination! We submit to evils which would be unendurable at home; and, if in a sulky, or disappointed, or lonely mood, we turn with dislike from comforts such as we never have enjoyed before. Every thing is better or worse, more beautiful or more ugly, than it really is. We have no power to make sound judgments. In Regent Street, in London, we disdainfully recall the glories of Broadway; and, when we return to New York, Broadway seems narrow, dirty, uninteresting, compared with our recollections of Regent Street. Mrs. Willard seems to have had all these illusions; yet she was one of those enthusiastic and amiable women who are generally pleased with every thing new and strange. She admires the oaken floors, waxed and shining; the comfortable hearth-rug, the large panes of glass, the windows swinging inward and opening like doors, the beautiful mirrors, the clocks in every room

and chamber, the wax-candles, the panelled walls, the low bedsteads, the square pillows, the elastic beds; the *table d'hôte*, charms her with the *fricandeaus*, the *entremets*, and the various unaccustomed dishes; the attentions of the waiters amuse her, the aspect of the men and women surprises her. She observes every thing. She visits every thing, even fortifications, and old and dingy churches. The journey to Paris by diligence is a new experience, and a pleasant one, since the ungraceful and lumbering vehicle is comfortable, and stops at interesting places on the road, long enough to see cathedrals. How exquisite the sensation of a cultivated person in the first survey of those wonders of the middle ages, which took centuries to build! Who can forget the first cathedral he has visited, whether in France or England, at York or Rouen? And the pleasure which attended the sight of objects of interest was much greater forty years ago than it now is, since we had not heard or read so much about them, and the interest then felt was communicated to friends. Every letter from Europe was a treasure. It passed from hand to hand, from family to family. Now, who writes letters even to friends, for what can one say that is new? It was not so forty years since, and perhaps one reason of the interest which letters then gave was the exceeding minuteness of description, rarely attempted now. Few travellers now write such interesting letters as once were written, because they take it for granted that every thing is already known by everybody.

On reaching Paris, after a fatiguing but delightful journey, Mrs. Willard stopped at the Hôtel de l'Europe, and, like all travellers, at first was disappointed. But she soon found ten thousand things to interest her—the parade of the guards, the royal palaces, the martial music of the bands, the splendor of the shops, the grounds of the Palais Royal and the Tuileries, the flowers and shrubs and trees

in the midst of a great and busy city ; the endless variety of beautiful things exposed for sale ; the bridges over the Seine, the churches, the monuments, the galleries of art, the public amusements, the elegance of public buildings, the splendor of equipages, the opera and theatres—upon all these she expatiates with the freshness and poetry of new impressions. Mrs. Willard's visit to France was at an interesting period, soon after the revolution which finally expelled the Bourbons, and the elevation of the house of Orleans, in the person of Louis Philippe. Lafayette played an important part in that revolution, and was high in power and popularity when Mrs. Willard visited Paris. She remembered his cordial invitation to visit him, but shrunk from taking up the time of so busy a man. She thus describes her interviews :

“ It was not until the 6th of November that I apprized General Lafayette of my arrival in Paris, which I did by note ; but I was careful to express myself in such a manner as to show that I was aware he had no time to devote to his private friends. I said that I knew that France trusted in his care ; the eyes of the world were upon him ; that he must now give himself up to the public.

“ I thought he would probably get my note in the evening and answer it next morning ; or he might possibly make an appointment for calling on me, when I should have some minutes of his time. A man who commands a military force of two millions, who has a seat in the Chamber of Deputies at such a time as this, and on whose opinion such important results are pending, must have on his head a mountain of cares, and his minutes are precious.

“ The morning came and passed, and I got no note ; but Captain R—— coming in said he had seen the general, and added : ‘ He will call on you ; as he spoke of your arrival he looked delighted.’ It was indeed what I was glad to know. My rooms were up four long pairs of stairs.

I went to mine hostess, and told her that I expected a call from General Lafayette, and would like to receive him in a lower room. She showed me the rooms I now occupy—the best in the house.

“I had just finished moving, and every thing was in perfect order, when a servant announced the general. He met me affectionately. His heart seemed to expand as to a confidential sister, and he talked to me freely of his family and of the most important political movements. He gave me a sketch of the revolution, detailed the part he himself had taken, spoke of the present state of affairs, and of the hopes and fears of the liberal party. His greatest regret was, that such was the state of public affairs and such his relation to them, that he had not the time he could wish to devote to his personal friends. He inquired after my Troy acquaintances, spoke of you, my dear sister, and of his young friends the pupils, of the pleasure he enjoyed there, of the beauty of the place, and of his recollection of having been there when there was only one small house in it. His observations on political affairs were such as gave my patriotic feelings a thrill of pleasure.

“The next morning his eldest daughter was announced. I had been the means, she said, of pleasure to her daughter. She had been delighted with the reception her grandfather had received from the young ladies of my institution, and had often sung the verses which they sung on that occasion.

“When we arrived at the Chamber of Deputies, we were conducted up a flight of stairs, with the meanness of which I was surprised, till I heard that the place of session was only temporary.

“The person who seemed to regulate the galleries gave us seats in front of the president’s chair and the speaker’s tribune. In the recess of a debate the general entered. When he had passed the morning salutations with his friends, he fixed his eyes upon the gallery, and moved

them slowly till they rested on his daughter and myself, and then gravely but gently bowed three times. I was invited to come to the general's *soirée*, and there has not been a day since that I have not received some marks of attention from some of the family.

"At the general's *soirée* there were many interesting people. I had the pleasure of conversing with Mr. Fenimore Cooper and his amiable family. I was also introduced to Mrs. Opie.

"The enthusiasm which pervaded the people in regard to Lafayette manifests itself on a thousand occasions. A respectable tradesman with whom I have dealt said, 'It is our good general who makes the king.' A woman, speaking of the anarchy which pervaded Paris during the revolution, said: 'Without him we had been lost. When his arrival in Paris was known, everybody burst into tears. His sympathy in the grief of private families touched the hearts of the people perhaps even more than his public services. He visited, after three days, each individual of the thousands who were wounded, and all the many families of the slain.'"

Again, November 8th, she writes: "I have just returned from the Chamber of Deputies. Many spoke—Lafayette, Lafitte, Minister of Finance; Guizot, Dupin, Barthe; but none interested me like M. Barthe. The entranced hearers were held in profound silence.

"The hissing of the members when a speech displeased them I thought abominable, and by no means a sample of French politeness, to say nothing of legislative deputies. Of course, my feelings were always on the side of the hissed, and never with the hissing."

Mrs. Willard's journal in Europe would indicate that she not only enjoyed many privileges through the influence of Lafayette, but also that there existed between them a very warm friendship, and this led to introductions in

society, which must have been very flattering to her vanity. Few American ladies ever visited Paris under such favorable circumstances. She meets the great lions of society wherever she goes. She becomes well acquainted with all the distinguished Americans. She is much noticed by the American minister, Mr. Rives, and by his kindness she is introduced at court. She hears Cuvier and the other great *savants* of the day lecture at the College of France. One of the editors of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* compliments her History. The daughters of Lafayette are ever ready to advance her wishes, and accompany her to operas, theatres, churches, balls, and *fêtes*. She is not only presented to the queen, but she is invited to court balls. The attentions she receives are great and various. But on these I need not enlarge; nor on her description of the people she visited, and the sights she saw. Her journal contains more information of Paris than any book of its size with which I am acquainted. Nothing escapes her notice. There is nothing of interest she does not visit—palaces, churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, theatres, hotels, museums, libraries, galleries of art, places of historical note, gardens, cemeteries, manufactories, shops—all of which she has described with great accuracy. She compares the manners and customs of the people with those of America, often to the preference of the former. She sees every thing and learns much, even to the details of dress and domestic economy. She speaks of the neatness and beauty of bedrooms, as well as the sumptuousness of *salons*; of the dress of women in the streets and at home, and in company; of shopping, ornaments, carriages, gray hair, complexions; of the tyranny of fashion; of the forms of social intercourse; of balls and dances; of the manner and conversation of the illustrious people she saw—so that there is a great life in her pictures, and we feel, as we read, how much she saw and enjoyed.

Among other favors granted her was the privilege of visiting the schools, under the patronage of the government, for the education of young ladies of rank. That at St. Denis, established by Napoleon, was an object of especial interest, under the supervision of the celebrated Madame Campan, as that of St. Cyr, in the time of Louis XIV., was directed by Madame de Maintenon. Through the influence of Mr. Cooper, the novelist, whose writings the French affect to prize above those of Sir Walter Scott, Marshal Macdonald, Grand-Chancellor of the Legion of Honor, granted every facility to Mrs. Willard. I do not think this or any other French school excited much enthusiasm in her mind, from the rigid rules, the Jesuit spirit, and the absorbing devotion to mere accomplishments, to say nothing of the poor fare, for which all the French fashionable schools are characterized.

The person who seems to have interested her most connected with education was Madame Belloc, who paid her every attention, and became a warm and disinterested friend. By her kind offices Mrs. Willard visited, with her, most of the educational institutions that were famous; and ultimately furnished her with letters to Maria Edgeworth and other ladies of note in England, who felt, with them, a common interest in female education.

After about six months' residence in Paris, Mrs. Willard bade adieu to her friends—Lafayette, Mrs. Opie, Madame Belloc, M. Morin, Madame de Maubourg, and others, who had so kindly aided her in her object—and departed for London. She landed, from a steamer, at the foot of the Tower, and went direct to the Adelphi, in the Strand, from which she removed to the boarding-house of Mr. Elston, Fitzroy Square.

London, as it ever must be, was full of interest. Pasta, Macready, Farren, Charles Kemble, and his daughter Fanny, were performing at the theatres; Irving was preaching at

the Scotch Church; Lord Brougham was presiding in the Court of Chancery; Coleridge was quietly living with Dr. Gilman, at Hampstead; Sir James Mackintosh was charming social circles by his marvellous conversational powers; Tom Moore was writing poetry; Rogers was giving his literary dinners; while princes, dukes, and ambassadors, gave direction to fashion and to splendor. But none of these personages interested Mrs. Willard so much as Maria Edgeworth, whom, above all celebrities, she wished to meet. And her wish was gratified through letters of introduction from Madame Belloc, her friend, and, through her influence, was enabled to see the most famous schools—one great object of her visit to Europe. After making a visit to the usual objects of attraction in and near London, Mrs. Willard proceeded to Scotland, taking in her way those castles and churches and noblemen's places with which all Americans are enchanted. Oxford, Blenheim, Stratford, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Stirling, Edinburgh, were all successively visited, and intelligently contemplated. Then she revisited London, and embarked at Havre, about the middle of June, for her own country, after seven months of delightful instruction and pleasure, in those places which, to see, is now the object of every educated American. But Americans abroad were not then so common as now; and hence her letters were well worthy of being published in a permanent form. Letters from Europe are now a drug and a bore; not so when Mrs. Willard wrote. She returned, to renew her labors at Troy, with recruited health, and richer experience and added interest. She returned with books, and pictures, and works of art, to enrich the institution of which she was the founder. Few people ever derived more profit from a tour to Europe than she, and the effect was speedily seen in the renewed *éclat* of the Troy Female Seminary.

CHAPTER IX.

1830-1838.

THERE is nothing peculiarly interesting in the annals of a prosperous school. It is like a fortunate career in business. It is the result of previous labor, watchfulness, and wisdom. The world looks on, and envies or praises. The days of disappointment, care, and solicitude, are all passed. It is sailing on the broad ocean, under sunny skies and propitious breezes. There are no incidents aside from the usual routine. There are days of work and nights of sleep, relieved by pleasant intercourse with visitors, vacations, rest, pleasure, with occasional vexations and annoyances.

From Mrs. Willard's visit to Europe to her second marriage, she had what the world would call extraordinary prospects. The income of the seminary greatly exceeded its expenditures, and for the reason that its advantages were sought by young ladies in easy circumstances from one part of the country to the other. These were the years of gratified ambition—almost of glory—for the reputation of the institution was established, and upon a firm basis. It was known that instruction was thorough and extensive; that it combined the solid with the ornamental, the fashionable with the useful.

At this period it was, in many important respects, a

normal school—a school for the training of teachers. The advantages which young ladies enjoyed for becoming teachers were such as were afforded in few other schools. And Mrs. Willard's treatment of the young ladies who were poor was remarkably liberal. A great number were not obliged to make payments until they earned money enough to discharge the blended debt of gratitude and duty. And these young ladies not only received their board and tuition, as it were, free, but were furnished with clothes and outfit. At one time, I have understood, that over ten thousand dollars were thus loaned to young ladies without security, and greatly in advance of this large sum, for those days, at different times. And only about fifty per cent. of these debts was ever repaid. Thus Mrs. Willard was not merely a benefactor to the cause of education, but to needy young ladies, to the amount of thousands of dollars. I have never known a more practical generosity on the part of school-teachers, who have generally been poor. A very few have become enriched by good management, good fortune, and tides of fashion. But the number of very successful teachers who have become enriched is not so great as in other professions. Yet, in all professions, the number of successful lawyers, physicians, preachers, and lecturers, is small compared with the whole number. In New York there are, perhaps, twelve or fifteen physicians who have become rich; about one hundred are in easy circumstances; the rest are struggling with adverse fortune. So of the law. Perhaps twice as many lawyers become rich as physicians; the rest are comparatively poor. But how few of physicians, lawyers, or clergymen, ever succeed in owning even the house in which they live! A professional man, who leads an honorable career, who pays his debts, who lives in easy circumstances, and who dies owning the house in which he lives, may be said to be successful. Some pro-

fessional men have very large incomes, who die leaving their families poor. There are many teachers who make a good living, and die poor. These are not unsuccessful, if they have discharged their trusts and their duties to society. They generally succeed in making friends, who, in turn, become friends to their children, and assist them to gain honorable and lucrative posts. How very few children of ministers turn out poorly! If they do not succeed, it is generally their own fault. But those who use their opportunities are peculiarly favored. Some of the richest men of this country are the sons of ministers, who early obtained advantages from the moral influence of parents. A beloved minister, if ever so straitened, and however large his family, generally succeeds in securing from rich merchants and bankers and manufacturers positions in their establishments. And I have observed that the sons of ministers, who follow the vocation of their fathers, are preëminently successful. The son of an eminent divine seems to enter upon the legacy of his father, and easily obtains an influential position.

So of the class of teachers. Some few become rich in their profession—rich when compared with ordinary classes of society, and enjoy a high social position—while most of them have great social compensations. What is money? It is merely material; but it purchases most of the objects which we covet, which are immaterial, like social position, friendship, influence, enviable intellectual pleasures. All that a rich man can have, can be enjoyed by a poor and honorable professional man; since the things the rich purchase with money, they possess without money, especially if clergymen and professors—the only classes which seem to have retained the old-fashioned and mediæval veneration of the people. Lawyers, in their turn, are often politicians, speculators in stocks and real estate, managers of colossal fortunes, executors of vast estates, railroad presidents,

directors of banks ; so their fortunes are not earned legitimately by their profession, and hence they claim and receive no other consideration than rich merchants, and those whose pursuits are peculiarly money-making. But a legitimate lawyer, who adheres to his practice alone, if that practice is honorable, is esteemed like a philanthropic physician or a self-denying minister, since he is a benefactor of mind. It is the benefactors of mind who are ever held in highest honor—who have what money buys. And no class of benefactors are held in more profound and universal esteem than wise and devoted teachers—not perhaps by the fashionable world, but by the good and the great. In England the great teachers are made bishops and dignitaries. In our country they have influence and honor.

And here I wish to explain the reason why I say teachers rather than educators. It has been lately the fashion and the folly of teachers to claim the name of educators, even as teachers of music, dancing, and the fine arts, claim to be called professors. But there is no name so dignified as that of teacher. Christ was a teacher. Plato was a teacher. Arnold was a teacher. An educator means no more. Even a professor does not convey higher meaning than teacher. Why should there be any distinction, except conventional, between a venerable man, like the late Dr. Taylor, of Andover, or Dr. Abbott, of Exeter, and the youthful and unknown, and pedantic and inflated, and conceited young men that happen to teach classes in college? A professor really means a teacher of youth in colleges, who is a member of the college faculty. Any usurpation of that name by dancing-masters and drawing-masters confounds the meaning of words, and, like all usurped prerogatives, creates a repulsion and reaction. And no wise man will ever thus usurp the titles of others, since, with all his usurpation, he can be no more than he

is. For a dancing-master to call himself a professor, does not make him the member of a college faculty. He is in a false position. A false position is a folly and a calamity.

Now, Mrs. Willard never called herself an educator. An educator she was, and very distinguished, the pioneer of female education in a great country, enriched by success, honored by all classes, enjoying the friendship of eminent men, and moving in a sphere which was enviable and not easily attained—attained by her, by prudence, wisdom, sagacity, fidelity to trust, and a rare faculty of teaching young ladies; and this position still further increased as the known author of several educational works of great popularity and wide circulation, which are yet to be mentioned. It was while she was a teacher at Troy, principal of the seminary, that she put forth her geography; her “History of the Republic of America,” afterward altered into a “History of the United States,” and her “Universal History”—all of which had a wide circulation, and one of them, the “History of the United States,” which became a great source of profit, the best book of the kind then in use.

It was at this epoch of her life, of her greatest usefulness and fame, when she was in the full tide of success, with a school of more than a hundred boarders, two hundred more day-scholars, and a corps of teachers larger than most college faculties, that I visited Troy, *then* a most attractive city, and first saw Mrs. Willard. I was myself a student of the Theological Seminary of Andover, and full of enthusiasm for historical studies, and sought an audience to hear my lectures, some four or five, which I had prepared on the Middle Ages. They had never been given but once, and that was at the Burr Seminary, in Manchester, Vermont, where the Rev. Lyman Coleman presided, one of the ablest and best teachers which this country has produced. I had been heard at this seminary, and sought to

be heard again. So I selected Troy as the field. Mrs. Willard, then a beautiful woman, with great benignity of manner and imposing address, welcomed me with kindness and favored my object. I lectured in a hall of the courthouse, and some forty or fifty of the young ladies, with their teachers, and Mrs. Willard at their head, made no small part of the audience. Never was I more impressed with the dignity of a school. The girls seemed so pretty and intelligent, the teachers so accomplished and elegant, and the principal herself a queen. All the trifling incidents connected with those lectures, if we can tell what incidents *are* trifling in our lives, are indelibly stamped upon my mind and soul, like my first experience as a teacher at Rutland. I even remember the style of dress and the color of the slippers which one of the most graceful of the teachers wore. I remember full well the half turban and half cap which was so becoming to Mrs. Willard, the elegant black dress and laces which adorned her rather large figure, the gracious smile which softened the solemn austerity of executive habits, and the egotistic pleasantries which made her natural and attractive, although subject to unfriendly criticism. Never was there a franker woman. Never did a woman seem to enjoy her labors and duties more than she. Never was one prouder of the friendships she had made and the hearts she had won. Never did I see a more generous appreciation of intellectual excellence. Never did I meet with a person more hospitable and genial. She lived, as it appeared to me, in rather unusual style for a teacher, with horses and carriages, and an army of servants, with pictures in the parlors, and works of beauty and taste—*souvenirs* of her European travels. She appeared to be the patroness of all that was good and beautiful. She seemed to be almost adored by her pupils and revered by her teachers, and the whole institution shone, to my eyes, in blended harmony

and glory. I may, as an enthusiastic young student, have seen things *couleur de rose*; but the impression was lasting, and has been confirmed by frequent subsequent visits.

In looking over a journal I made of that first lecturing tour, in 1836—nearly forty years ago—when I was a young man, without experience or wisdom, only courage and boldness, taking for my motto those encouraging words of Virgil, "*Possunt quia posse videntur*"—not those of Solomon, "*Leo est in via*"—I find the following comments, which will show the impression then made upon my mind :

"The first person I called upon was Dr. Beman, then engaged in a controversy with the editor of a Jackson newspaper, in which he came off second best. He was in no mood to receive an unknown stranger, a student in a seminary, presuming to give lectures on history, and coldly and with Hyperborean gruffness packed me off with a note to Mrs. Willard.

She was not at first favorable to what had so often proved such poor stuff in her school, but gradually she began to listen, and soon expressed decided approbation of my object, and agreed to furnish a large portion of her scholars. Her patronage insured success, and her kindness made my visit a delight.

"I saw much of Mrs. Willard and was much pleased. Like every prominent character, she had striking virtues and defects, and her greatness was seen as it loomed up above defects. Her defects, too, are so prominent that he who runs may read. Observers would, perhaps, detect egotism, vanity, and love of admiration; and, seeing these, would be inclined to ridicule or slander her. But gradually I forgot and lost sight of all these peculiarities, in the unequivocal exhibition of the kindest feelings, of firmness of purpose, strength of will, of generous impulses, and lofty ends of action, and her noble efforts in the cause of female education will receive, as they deserve, the grati-

tude of her sex long after her weaknesses shall have been forgotten."

Such were the impressions made on my mind and faithfully recorded thirty-six years ago. In looking over what I said of other notabilities of that time, and of Troy itself, as it then seemed to me, so bustling, so given to money-making and money-worshipping, an epitome of New York, a small edition of Antioch, Carthage, and Corinth combined, with nothing Athenian but Mount Ida, or some other hill with a classical name, in spite of many good and excellent people who live therein, I wish I had continued the journal of my early wanderings and experiences. But, while the Troy seminary was flourishing, Mrs. Willard herself was worked to death. In a letter to her sister she writes: "I lead a dog's life, dragged from one thing to another from morning till night, till my animal life and my intellectual soul seem alike exhausted, and nothing left at times but the clod which seems to be tending to its parent earth." The superintendence of that great establishment was not play, and was attended with incessant cares which would have worn out any one less vigorous than Mrs. Willard, who had great physical strength as well as intellectual resources.

Among other cares and duties, Mrs. Willard was constantly importuned from persons in all parts of the country to provide teachers for young ladies' schools. Fortunately, she was able to recommend those who had completed their education under her own eye. Hundreds of letters I have found of this character, all of which show the high estimation in which she was generally held, and the fame which followed her labors. The published writings of Mrs. Willard no doubt contributed to make her known, and to draw pupils to her institution. The following letter from Judge Turner, member of Congress, will show the nature of these applications, and also the good influence Mrs. Willard was able

to exert in behalf of the young ladies whom she educated as teachers :

“WASHINGTON, *April* 30, 1836.

“A lady qualified and competent to take the management of an English school is wanted, for a country situation, in the State of Louisiana, on the east side of the river Mississippi, parish of West Feliciana, about eight miles from the river, and one hundred and fifty miles from the city of New Orleans, by the course of the river. It is desirable to procure one who can teach all the branches usually given to complete the education of girls from infancy, and to teach them, or *to have them* taught, music and drawing, etc. To such a one, well recommended, I will obligate myself to pay her five hundred dollars per annum for two years, allowing to her any thing above that amount which her school may produce. If required, I will advance her travelling expenses to that place, upon condition that they are to be refunded to me in tuition or otherwise.

“Mrs. Willard, the above proposition will, I hope, prove satisfactory, and authorize you to use your influence in procuring the services of a qualified lady to fill the situation. With great respect, I have the honor to be

“Your most obedient servant,

“I. TURNER.”

But Mrs. Willard not only rendered constant service to such pupils as wished to teach, but she rendered invaluable kindness to relatives—among others, to the step-daughters of her sister, Mrs. Phelps. These were received into the family of Mrs. Willard and treated like daughters. For her sister, Mrs. Phelps, she ever expressed and felt an unusual affection, and they were, from first to last, of great mutual assistance. Both were literary in their tastes, both

were authors, and both embarked in educational enterprises. Both were fortunate, from the possession of those qualities which insure success—sagacity, executive ability, good sense, and energy. It was Mrs. Phelps who took the management of the institution of Troy during her sister's absence in Europe. She ever was her best counsellor and friend. The letters between them are the most numerous which remain of her vast correspondence. The following letter will show how she discharged the duties of both friend and sister, in relation to her step-daughter Eunice :

“TROY, *November 16, 1831.*

“DEAR SISTER : What I have most upon my mind at this time is respecting Eunice, but of a character quite the reverse of what you will probably expect. Eunice is a good girl. I shall do a great deal for her, for I have got her confidence completely ; and she is trying to fashion herself in every way agreeably to my wishes. She has had bad advisers in the neighborhood, who put it into her head that it would be a dreadful thing to have a step-mother. But at present she has quite altered her mind She has high talent and high ambition, and she is doing her utmost. Let us keep her up to this, and she will make an honor and a comfort to the family. Check her and depress her, and I do not know what would become of her, with the keen and dark feeling of which I have seen her capable. Were I sure that my health would admit of my keeping the institution, I would take Eunice to educate till she is twenty-one. I think of keeping her as it is, as a teacher for myself, longer or shorter, for I think it would be important for her and well for me. The nature of associated feeling or secondary emotions, as Lord Kames has it, has been strongly exemplified in my feelings toward Mr. Phelps's daughters. I feel as if I had a whole

family of nieces born in a day. I expect Stella here soon ; she has written me her intention of joining my school as a scholar, with reasons that I think are sound. As for Helen, 'I have not found so great faith' elsewhere. She advises Stella to come, and in a part of her letter, which Stella quotes, she says : 'What had I been had it not been for her ?' (meaning me). Now, there are those that I took almost in infancy, and kept more years than I did her weeks, and from whom I never expect any thing like pay (and she paid every cent she owed me), that feel less gratitude. Now, I think Eunice is manifesting the same grateful disposition, and I do not believe I shall find her capricious in her feelings. I mention this because I want you to cultivate it, and be particular to show her attention, at least to return hers, and I feel sure you will not find your labor in vain. I have just passed Thirza in the hall. She said, 'I am just writing to Aunt Lincoln.' 'That is right ; your Aunt Lincoln' (you see we keep up the old name, except on State occasions) 'has been such a friend to you and your family as you have never found in any one else, and I want you to make her sensible of your gratitude.' Thirza responded to the sentiment with a warmth and earnestness which I have seldom witnessed in her. Jane has this minute called and asked if I had a letter from ma to-day, and was disappointed when I said no, and her eyes were moistened. Jane has warm feelings, though sometimes, as in her letter to you, she does not manifest them when occasion presents. We cannot always tell how changing circumstances will affect our own minds. For myself, I do not find the slightest difference in my affection for your two children. They are both of them very dear to me indeed, and, as I have already remarked, I find my mind affected toward your step-children in a way that I should not have expected, and I find myself contriving for the good of your whole family."

While in Paris, Mrs. Willard formed an intimate acquaintance with Madame Belloc, celebrated for her educational efforts. The following letter to Mrs. Phelps will show the high estimation which this distinguished lady entertained for Mr. Willard's system, and also the different style of education which prevailed in France from that which Mrs. Willard sought to introduce in America :

“MADAM: One of the greatest obligations I am under to the *Revue Encyclopédique* is certainly that of having brought me to an acquaintance with two persons as distinguished in all respects as yourself and Mrs. Willard. I am perhaps worthy, if not to follow your examples, at least to comprehend your views, and I feel myself elevated by a sympathy of so honorable a nature. I was suffering under deep affliction when your sister brought me your kind letter, accompanied by your useful and excellent work for the teaching of botany. This event was of importance, in directing my thoughts in a new channel and thus ameliorating my grief.

“I had often vaguely thought of something similar to what you have executed in so admirable a manner; but the state of our society is by no means as favorable for education, particularly the intellectual improvement of females, as the social order in America. Here the obstacles seem almost insurmountable; the minds, both of pupils and parents, being strongly prejudiced against an extended and elevated system of national education. However, the defects in the attainments of females are deeply felt, but no one knows how to remedy the evil. Those who would be glad to see a different order of things are few in number, and none among us seem to possess the energy to originate and execute great plans. We are generally very skilful in theory, but awkward in practice.

“The example of Mrs. Willard and the prosperity of

her institution cannot but be useful in exciting others to make efforts. I will, at least, attempt to follow her and yourself, and, to enable me to do it, I must request your assistance and advice. I have not, like you, received lessons of experience, which not only suggest vast projects, but enable us to perceive the means of executing them. But I believe I possess a sentiment of moral beauty and goodness, and a lively desire that they may also be felt by others. I wish, if possible, to be a useful member of society.

“May I presume to ask you for some particulars respecting your institution, its origin and progress? I wish to write a full article respecting it for the *Revue*, and to pay thus publicly that tribute of respect and admiration which your noble exertions so well deserve. Will you also add some information upon the discipline and internal administration of your institution, and the system of teaching followed in it? What I have learned on this last point from your writings and those of Mrs. Willard has delighted me; I look upon it as the commencement of a vast series of improvement, in the guidance and development of the human mind.

“It would also be desirable to possess a list of all the books used in the institution. I make this request, either that I may find some analogous works in French, or that we may translate such as we need. Here, every thing is as yet to be done, and, although the task be immense, there might be a possibility of succeeding, if all who are capable would bring to the common stock a portion of labor and effort. Had I but the widow’s mite to contribute, still I would give for the success of this holy cause.

“With respect to the education of the poor classes, we are in a deplorable state; nothing has yet been done for them. It is proposed to establish, by means of subscription, five thousand free libraries, which shall contain works proper to furnish the people at large with such reading as

will instruct and improve them. You have, no doubt, many books in America which would be proper for such an object; part of them are probably written in the country and part of them borrowed from the English; to which do you give the preference? I put this question to you with confidence, because I think there is a great resemblance between grown people and children, so that the wholesome and progressive food which is proper for the mind of one is also good for the other; for, after all, it is education, a taste for knowledge, for labor, for observation, which we must produce and cherish. M. de Lafayette, our most worthy citizen, who so well deserves from the United States, from France, and the whole world, is to preside over the committee to whom will be intrusted the selection and purchase of these popular libraries; they have requested my coöperation and advice respecting the works to be adopted. My connection with Miss Edgeworth and several distinguished English ladies gives me important advantages for this object. May I request the assistance of your sister and yourself, to enable me to naturalize in my country what you think most useful in yours. No person could be more favorably situated than you to sanction or disapprove, and your decisions shall be on my part without any appeal.

“I shall expect from your kindness to receive, first, an account of the origin, progress, and internal discipline and modes of teaching of the Troy Female Seminary, and a list of the principal works adopted by you; second, a choice of popular works, proper for the country libraries, uniting, with morality, instruction and amusement; third, such publications as would be calculated to throw light upon the civilization of the United States, the improvement in education, industry, etc.

“Pardon me for so long a letter, and believe me, dear madam, yours, with unaffected admiration and esteem,

“LOUISE S. W. BELLOC.”

If we pass from educational subjects to others of a less dignified character, I find a letter that throws light on the absurd practice of ministers and teachers, a generation ago, in selecting wives from the recommendation of others. Mrs. Willard's kindness of heart and ready sympathies made her too often the instrument of the class who were wife-seekers, without the capacity of selecting or obtaining one for themselves. I quote the following letter, to expose the blended annoyance, folly, and ignorance, which characterize this class, and to show what innumerable calls were made on Mrs. Willard outside of her legitimate duties. I do not know what success the young fool had, or how his proposals were received. But I have known several of the like kind, and his epistle may amuse, while it shows the deplorable ignorance of the world which is common to secluded young ministers :

" October 2, 1831.

" MRS. WILLARD.

" MADAM: Strange as the nature of this letter may appear, and strange as it truly is, I see no impropriety connected with it, except the fact of troubling one who is an entire stranger to me personally, without any prospect of ever making any substantial return. But this apparent impropriety seems to vanish on reflecting how extensively in this world we are dependent on each other, and that to the good it is even a greater happiness to give than to receive benefits.

" Waiving, therefore, all further apology, I will proceed to explain my object in addressing you. It is a great effort for a man who has lived in celibacy till he has nearly attained the rank of bachelorship to pronounce it, but, in reality, 'I want a wife!' Are you ready by this time to ask in astonishment, 'What is that to you?' Condescend to be a little patient, and I will endeavor to tell you. Since

I graduated, five years ago, I have been constantly occupied in study and teaching, so as to allow myself very little time for looking about and forming acquaintances among either sex, and among my limited acquaintances there is no one who so far meets my views as to justify any attempt to cultivate her acquaintance with a view to matrimony. But, had I ever so good an opportunity of making acquaintance with a young lady, if she had any considerable time been a member of your school, I should feel assured that your opinion of her was more just than mine. Whatever deceptions may be successfully practised in the various intercourse of society, yet the recitation-room, and the various departments of duty connected with a well-conducted boarding-school, must determine what a young lady's talents and temper and habits really are. I should have more confidence in the opinion of a judicious teacher than in that of all the world besides. On these accounts I write you, to request, if my communication should be so fortunate as not to appear entirely impertinent and intrusive, that you will have the disinterested goodness to inform me by letter whether you know one or several young ladies somewhat resembling the model which I propose, their names and where they live, and any other circumstances which you may think proper. I would prefer, at least, middling stature, a form free from any special inequalities, and good general health. In respect to property, that she should not have any, but that her parents should be of that description who are merely able to furnish the means of thorough education to their children, leaving the latter to understand that they are to depend for a settlement in the world on personal merit alone. But the three principal particulars are yet to come, and are these—piety, good intellect, and a pleasant, cheerful disposition. I would wish her to be a member of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Baptist, or Methodist denomination of Christians,

and of a deportment consistent with the profession. I would wish her not only to possess respectable conversational powers, but also to have made some attainments in scholarship. It would be painful to me that one with whom I was so nearly connected should have no relish and no capacity whatever for the severer kinds of learning, such as the most pleasing elementary works on intellectual philosophy, and some very elementary portions of geometry. Extensive attainments in these branches would be entirely immaterial; the desideratum is merely that cast of mind which would make progress in these if opportunity were afforded, and would not be disgusted at the mere mention of Algebra and Euclid. Your own observation on varieties of intellect will enable you to understand precisely what is intended by the last remarks. It is essential that she should not be excessively devoted to dress or company, nor remarkably addicted to slander. From about twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age; a medium would be preferred. I trust that the character which I have described is not a very rare one, though it certainly is not found everywhere.

“To be worthy of such a woman may be thought to imply advantages on the part of a gentleman which I fear do not belong to my case. In proposing to give some brief account of myself, as it is proper I should, that you may not only know what I wish, but also what I probably deserve, I acknowledge that I feel somewhat like a pert, forward witness, who is about to undergo cross-examination. My personal appearance, if favorable at all, is very moderately so; a moderate stature, slender form, deficient in three particulars of high importance to personal appearance—hands and feet inelegant, and teeth not good; little used to mixed company, and little qualified to do myself credit there; easily embarrassed in company, especially in that of ladies.

“In spite of these prominent faults, have some favorable points. Graduated with good reputation; my literary acquaintances in a variety of ways manifest a respect for my opinions; have habits of close and persevering attention to whatever pursuit interest or duty leads me to engage in; have excellent, uniform health; a cheerful, natural temperament; pass for twenty-five, am a little older.

“Am a member of the Presbyterian Church; shall receive license and ordination as soon as my other engagements will allow of sufficient preparatory study, though I shall probably never preach for compensation, but depend on my school for all pecuniary emolument. My school is beginning to be favorably known, and within the week past I have received two flattering invitations—one to a distinguished school in New Jersey and the other in New York. The situation which I now occupy has distinguished advantages, and I expect to make it a permanent residence.

“This is indeed a communication of a very singular nature, but I am sure of your fullest assent to my opinion that, since my situation makes it desirable to avail myself of the aid of others in selecting, no person is so competent as a discriminating teacher, and of all the teachers in our country your own opportunities are incomparably the greatest. If you are so obliging as to treat this with favorable notice, and will call to mind some of your former pupils, who are most likely to meet my views and to be satisfied with my humble prospects, and will please to mention two or three, giving the preference where you suspect I would give it, so that, if, from any cause, one instance should not succeed, another might, and making such observations as you may think proper, you will thus perform all that I desire, and much more than a selfish world are wont to do for each other, without some fairer

prospect of an equivalent than is furnished in the present case.

"This letter will be mailed at ———, and your answer (if you deign to give one), directed there, will reach me in safety. My signature is, of course, fictitious. If I should hear from you within a little more than a week, it might enable me to make a visit this fall; otherwise, perhaps not till the lapse of a few months.

"With sincere and high respect,

"WILLIAM SEYMOUR."

Mrs. Willard's enjoyment of Nature was very great, and, amid the cares of her school, she occasionally found time to visit the places most renowned for natural beauty or sublimity. Of these places, Trenton Falls was then a favorite place of resort. She thus describes to her sister those beautiful falls, near Utica, in 1839:

"I have been to Trenton Falls, which, I think, could never have appeared more beautiful, as there was a great deal of water, and the trees were in full foliage, and yet in vernal freshness. I had received quite a wrong impression of the general character of the scenery, which I think is rather that of beauty than of wild and rugged sublimity—the both are combined. I was more venturesome in exploring the shelving rocks than I intended to be. I seem, amid such inspiring scenes, to lose the feeling of personal danger. Mr. Hart was with me. We descended three hundred feet, and then on a shelf of a rock, which art had lent her aid to make continuous, we wended our way through the rocks above and below us, sometimes slightly inclined, sometimes perpendicular. The torrent below was foaming and maddening along, and the opposite bank near us rising so as to make its outline, as we looked up, above the mild heaven. While I stood here, my thoughts were those of solemn and heavenly musing. Mr. Hart and

I made some observations on the sound of the cataract. We stood in one place where we could make with our voices a musical sound in perfect unison with the falling waters at other places. It was a deeper, lower sound than any human voice could make, but the different sounds appeared to be either octaves, thirds, or fifths—in that all were harmonious. Now, if this is so, and I believe it is, it is a very curious fact, and shows how the sound of falling waters is so pleasant to a musical ear.”

But Mrs. Willard had not much time for recreation. She was consumed with labors and cares, and occasionally annoyed with disappointments. The school continued flourishing, owing to her unwearied assiduity. And she had some very accomplished ladies as teachers, who were members of her family. Miss Jane Lincoln became one of the most finished musicians of the country, and impressed all who saw her with the sweetness of her temper, her purity of character, and unaffected devotion to her duties. She lived as a daughter with her aunt until the establishment of her mother at Ellicott's Mills, when she returned to her. She did not live long to enjoy the reunion, but lost her life in a railroad accident. She is the only one of Mrs. Willard's nieces whom I remember, except Emma Hart, another sweet girl, who copied for me some of my lectures. Pauline, the beautiful French girl, whom Mrs. Willard brought from Paris, was also an accomplished musician, and a girl of great vivacity and talent. She subsequently married Judge McKennen, of Pennsylvania. I have a vivid recollection of those ladies who graced the corps of teachers at Troy, and also of Miss Osterhaut, Mrs. Willard's secretary, afterward the wife of Mr. Olin, of Troy, a prominent lawyer.

But this prosperous career as principal of the Troy Seminary was not altogether without disagreeable and annoying embarrassments. There were troubles with the

corporation of Troy, which at one time threatened the existence of the seminary and the withdrawal of Mrs. Willard altogether, growing out of the desire of the corporation to open the beautiful grounds in front of the seminary to the public. The corporation of the city has often failed to appreciate the advantages of the seminary, and been governed by a narrow and short-sighted policy. But what could be expected of a ring of selfish politicians? Even now the glorious institution erected by the labors and talents of Mrs. Willard is in danger of dissolution, from the unwillingness of that corporation to extend those privileges which such an institution claims, and the most flourishing female seminary in the land is about to die from their selfishness or narrowness, so little is there of permanence in the outward form of any thing which man creates. But yet influence lives, and enters into new forms. The Troy Seminary has been copied, in its essential features, by hundreds of other similar institutions. As the great empire of Charlemagne was dissolved at his death, or was divided into separate kingdoms, yet its spirit lived, although the form was changed, and survived in the numerous states which arose in feudal Europe, so the Troy Seminary lives in the numerous institutions which were based on its principles

I have room but for one more extract, to show Mrs. Willard's matured views of education, as conveyed in the following letter to her brother-in-law, Mr. Phelps, before she closed her educational labors in Troy. It shows what has been done in female education since Mrs. Willard first issued her plan :

"TROY, October 9, 1832.

"DEAR BROTHER: Yesterday I sent, by Mr. Baxter, of Burlington, some of my 'plans of education,' the same addressed, thirteen years ago, to the Legislature of New

York, and containing the substance of an appeal which I could now wish were addressed to the Legislature of Vermont. The circumstances attendant on that address seem to me to have been the commencement of a general movement in favor of female education which has pervaded the whole United States, and which is extending to Europe, and lately, it seems, to South America, which, though not yet sufficiently powerful to influence our legislative bodies to do the justice which every candid mind must acknowledge they owe our sex, but yet so influenced lesser public bodies that, for the first time, large public buildings have been erected for the use of female schools in different parts of our country; apparatus and libraries, and numerous competent teachers, are attached to them; and such is the excitement in favor of female education that these schools are supported by individuals who must, of necessity, pay more for a daughter's education in them than for a son's in our best colleges; whereas public funds pay much of the expense, individuals are not charged with it. In addressing a Legislature on this subject now, there is this difference in the ground to be taken from that of thirteen years ago. Then it was asking them to lead public opinion on this subject; now it is but asking them to follow it. Then we asked them to create advantages for our sex; now we ask them to enable us to afford them cheaper, so that education can be accessible to people of moderate fortune, which now only the rich can attain. Above all, we ask them to give the strength of *permanency* to improvements which have been made and approved—approved in their principles by such men as Jefferson and Adams (the elder), Lafayette and Clinton. To these might be added a host of other eminent names, of both sexes, and two continents. Could we be certain that the present excitement on the subject of female education would continue, we would do well enough without legislative aid.

But how has it originated? God has raised up ardent minds, who have labored in the cause from high and disinterested motives. It is not probable that, when these minds have passed away, female education will again become the same article of traffic that it was before, and is now in countries where this generous ardor is unfelt—become something which, instead of purifying the fountain of a nation's manners and morals, goes to corrupt it. In a matter of such importance we should not trust to extraordinary efforts, but place things, if possible, so that the ordinary course of human actions will produce the results we wish.

“In urging the subject of giving the stamp of *permanency* to improvements already made in female education, I have something to say which, perhaps, it does not become me to set forth. But, if I should say that I now think those colleges for males which, fourteen years ago, I proposed as models (as far as might be) for female seminaries, might make considerable improvement in their systems by examining what we have done and why we have done it, I should say no more than I solemnly believe to be true, and which, I think, I could convince any candid mind who should take pains to examine the subject. We have a system which, all fair experiments have shown, has produced a most happy moral effect on our pupils; but, alas! how many young men go from our colleges demoralized! The facilities for intellectual improvement are far greater in the college than we can want; yet, because our system, by appealing to the affections, guiding the will, and guarding the pupil from temptation, does give us a moral control which, ordinarily, the faculties of colleges neither seek nor obtain, therefore the intellectual improvement of our pupils has, proportionally to the time spent with us, been greater than theirs. Point me a single scholar of a college that in one year has made the

improvement that your daughter Eunice did here last year, or one that in three months did as much as Helen, I will give up the argument. And this is natural enough. When I came into the field of education (public opinion in this region having invested me with a kind of dictatorial power), I was actuated as were the founders of the American Constitution—untrammelled by precedent, with the wisdom of those who had gone before me to enlighten, and their errors to warn. They ought to have done what they did—make a better system than any one they found. And now other countries, convinced, by its operation, that it is the best, are seeking to assimilate theirs to it, as far as different circumstances make it allowable; but they find difficulties in altering an old system, which do not arise in forming a new one.

“If, in the point before us, difficulties should arise on account of the officers now engaged at Burlington, why not have them remain as directors and teachers of a female university? President Marsh is a philosopher and a philanthropist both, if I have been rightly taught to appreciate his character; and he cannot but see that the correct education of woman is more fundamental to the morality of a nation than that of men; and he need not despise to help us in this great work, and his talents would doubtless embellish and advance it.

“At this time of interest respecting the political affairs of the Southern section of the Union, I cannot but allude to the effect which the improvements in female education are producing. I am continually applied to for female teachers. Within a week I have had six applications—some to supply places of those I have already sent, who are about to marry. Now, this is a way of settling political discordances, by intermarriage, better than even Mr. Calhoun’s. I do not care how many Southern planters marry Northern school-mistresses. But, leaving marriage aside,

what a field is here opened for the enterprise of females who are deprived, by labor-saving machinery, of the accustomed means of livelihood for the sex! and, at the same time, what a fountain of usefulness is opened! Again, an institution which could afford to educate females well and cheap, would open the most powerful of all means of improving common schools, by supplying them with steady teachers, who could be obtained for such prices as the people could afford to pay. Your daughters are all well and happy. Eunice pleases me much as a teacher. My own health is seemingly good since I breathed the pure air of Vermont.

“Your affectionate sister,

“E. WILLARD.”

CHAPTER X.

MRS. WILLARD'S EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF GREECE.

AFTER Mrs. Willard's return from Europe, in 1831, she enlisted her energies for the improvement of the women of Greece, and sought to establish a school at Athens, for the instruction of native teachers. The Missionary Board seconded her efforts, and Mr. and Mrs. Hill, missionaries of the board, added this department to their school. The Greek Government warmly approved of the scheme, and passed a law to educate a number of pupils in this normal school. To forward the object, Mrs. Willard devoted the proceeds of her "Journal and Letters," from which twenty-five hundred dollars were realized for this worthy object of benevolence. In this noble scheme she was aided by Dr. Howe, Mrs. Almira Phelps, Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, and many other distinguished people.

The following letter of Mrs. Willard to Mrs. Phelps, who zealously coöperated with her in her philanthropic enterprises as well as educational schemes, will show the beginnings of the society :

"TROY, *January 11, 1832.*

"TO MRS. ALMIRA PHELPS.

"MY DEAR SISTER: I cannot retire to rest this Saturday night without saying to my dear, my affectionate sister, that I have just finished the greatest week's work that

I ever did in my life, as it regards intellectual labor. The *Troy Press*, extra, which I send, will explain the nature of it. I did not touch my pen to my address till last Saturday afternoon, at three o'clock. I did not think of doing such a thing till the Thursday before; and Friday, all day, I was sick with the sick-headache. My motive in writing it was that the novelty of the thing would draw the people together. The effect of it in Troy was beyond any thing I could have conceived of. Our meeting this evening has been deeply interesting. Mr. Buel, Mr. Tucker, Mr. D. Gardner, Mr. Hill (the Baptist clergyman), and Mr. Peck, have spoken eloquently. Mr. Hill perfectly astonished me. I will send you an account of the meeting when it comes out in the paper. The gentlemen passed resolutions approving warmly of our plan and measures; and, in the end, promising to sustain us with their *influence* and with their MONEY. My address I am to revise, for I want to add to it; and a committee of five clergymen—the ones I have named—and Mr. Beman, are to give me their critical advice concerning the copy I am to prepare for a handsome pamphlet—a committee for this purpose, because the address is now a Troy child for the men, and the women have adopted it; and, as I wish to add to it, I might say something in the new parts I would not like. All Troy seems moved except Mr. Butler and the Warrens. Now, think of all this having been done in a week! Surely the Lord hath helped us. It has been to me the happiest week I ever spent in Troy. It has brought me into communion with hearts of Christian benevolence. This part of the society here are evidently delighted that I have taken the stand I have, for they have probably thought me too cold a Christian. From the remarks on my address, our citizens are beginning to inquire what about our own seminary? Mr. Hill came nobly to that point this evening. I have heard more praise to my face than even I like. I rejected

the presidency of the society, because I did not wish to be too much a mark for envy, which what has happened this week may well excite. My health has rather risen than otherwise on all this labor. Success has kept me heart-whole.

“EMMA WILLARD.”

At a meeting, held in St. John's Church, in Troy, January, 1833, Mrs. Willard had her address read by Rev. Mr. Peck, from which we make the following extracts :

“The cause of the Greeks has heretofore appealed to us as that of a struggling and suffering nation. They have bled at every pore in the cause of liberty; and we, as inheritors of a freedom bought by the blood of our fathers, have felt the appeal. We heard of the Grecian widow, wandering with her helpless offspring over the devastated hills of her now barren country. In considering the subject of benefiting the Greeks, we must begin with those in the nation who are now young. The half of these are females. That the system of female education commenced with us is incomparably better than the systems of public education for our sex in the old states of Europe, I could say much to prove. I could bring forth the testimony of some of the most distinguished women of France, expressed in letters which I have had the honor to receive from them. I could adduce conversations with some of those in Great Britain, but time would fail. To aid the project now before us, we would that we could impart to those nations sounder views on this subject and better systems. But they would not receive them from us. Not so with Greece. She looks to us, and solicits us to teach her. Should we impart to her the elements of moral vigor, she will increase in strength as in years; and, when at length their vices—those of England and France—shall have sunk them to

the grave of nations—when society shall, with them, as now with the Greeks, be dissolved to its original elements, then Greece may impart to them what she now receives from us. But, if we are now to undertake this work, the present is the time. The schools which first take root will grow with the growth of the nation.

“At the same time that I thus plead for Greece, I must frankly say that I consider it still more important to the cause of female education to give permanency to the improvement which Troy has herself begun. But that requires means beyond any effort of mine to produce. All that I can do has been done to aid in rearing our institution. Once my health has failed in consequence of sustaining the burden; and now there are times when I feel that it is sinking again. But the good which God puts it into my power to do, that let me do cheerfully, without repining that I cannot do more. By educating numbers, by bringing up teachers, and scattering them abroad, I may diffuse widely what I believe to be the correct views of female education.

“What could be more discouraging than *were* the prospects of Greece? From a train of disastrous circumstances, she lost, for a long period, even her national existence. Now, politically born again, she has, like her own Hercules, strangled in her cradle the serpent that writhed himself around her with murderous pressure; and, with the meek lineaments of dependent childhood, she now stands, with imploring eyes, and asks for guidance and instruction.

“And, as far as she is allowed the liberty of choice, she chooses America for her guardian. Our hearts are touched by the appeal; and let not our hands refuse to act in obedience to the generous impulse. Let us adopt and educate her, as far as practicable, and we will hereafter have cause to rejoice, with maternal pride, over the child

of our adoption. Where is there a child so noble in its lineage as Greece? Where does the sun shine upon a people so bright in native intellect? With the advantages of instruction, with the renovating light of pure Christianity, Greece may again lead the nations of Europe, not merely to eminence in arts and arms, but by moral regeneration to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. If it be infatuation to be zealous in such a cause, I desire to be infatuated. If it be infatuation to be moved with compassion for degraded and *imploping* humanity, who of us, my brothers and sisters, would not wish to follow through such infatuation the steps of our blessed Master?

“When we reflect on Greece—her geographical position favorable to commerce and self-defence, the surpassing native genius of the people, the lion heart with which she withstood the Mohammedan tiger—we see much which indicates that she may yet lead among the nations of Europe. But she must first be educated. By whom? She looks to us, distant as we are, as her nearest and dearest neighbor, because, when we found her stripped by robbers, faint and bleeding by the way, we pitied and relieved her.”

These eloquent remarks were not without effect. The ladies of Troy convened at the Female Seminary, and formed themselves into a society for the advancement of female education in Greece; and, among the resolutions which were passed, is the following:

“That it is expedient to establish a school at Athens for the more especial purpose of instructing female teachers, yet by no means excluding such pupils as may be able to pay in whole or in part for their instruction; as, by teaching such, we not only extend the blessings of education, but increase our funds.”

At this time Mrs. Hale wrote an encouraging letter to Mrs. Willard, which should go with the rest:

"BOSTON, April 21, 1833.

"MY DEAR MADAM: Your kind letter and the pamphlet reached me safely; for both I thank you, and sincerely hope we shall become more punctual correspondents for the future. Your 'appeal' is full of noble sentiments and just inferences. Permit me to say, my dear madam, that highly as I have always rated your talents, I was not prepared for the *comprehensiveness* of your philosophy of the female character—as it ought to be. With the ideas you have advanced in the 'appeal' I heartily concur, and all the aid I can lend in the promotion of your plan shall be given.

"I have signified my intention of republishing the first part of your address in my magazine for May. I wish the plan proposed for establishing a female school in Greece to be read in your own eloquent words; and, as my periodical has a wide circulation (I believe it is sent to every State in the Union), I thought the insertion of the address would be more effectual in promoting the good work than any observations of my own.

"The ladies of Boston are now very busy preparing for a great fair, to be held May-day, the proceeds devoted to the Institution for the Education of the Blind, lately established in this city. The charity is a noble and popular one, and I therefore thought it would be best to let this *mania* run its course before making any effort in your behalf. As soon as is consistent with prudence I shall bring the plan of the school for Athens before our intelligent and truly benevolent ladies, and I think we shall procure funds to aid you.

"In the mean time, I should like to receive information from yourself respecting what has been done in Troy, and what prospect there is of ultimate success. Perhaps it would be well to circulate here in our city and vicinity proposals for publishing your European manuscript. If a subscription for a few hundred volumes could be raised

here, and I think it might, and the money thus obtained devoted to getting up a *fair* (that is the popular method now—our ladies are very ingenious and very industrious), we might—we undoubtedly should—obtain a handsome sum. I name these things for your consideration, and shall be happy to hear your opinion.

“I have lately read a most interesting communication from your sister, Mrs. Phelps; and the pleasure derived from her charming work, ‘Lectures to Young Ladies,’ was enhanced by thus, as it were, entering into communion with the admirable author. How you must miss her in your daily duties and in your social circle! Blessings on you both! I feel that our sex are deeply indebted to you, and I am proud of subscribing myself your friend,

“S. J. HALE.”

On the 20th of August, 1834, Mrs. Willard, as secretary of the association, sent in the following report, which was read by the Rev. S. B. Paddock, of Christ Church, Norwich, Connecticut, a portion of which I quote:

“When, in January, 1833, the ladies of Troy took the bold resolution to attempt the spreading of female education over Greece, by providing for the instruction of female teachers at Athens, they sent forth a circular, inviting the benevolent and pious of their countrywomen to aid them in accomplishing their great work, which, in the peculiar crisis of Grecian history, and the singular confidence of that people in our nation, we felt that American women were specially called upon to undertake. But, in making this appeal to our countrywomen, we said, ‘Suppose it is successful, and societies form and intrust us with their money, what shall we do with it?’ To provide for such a contingency, we appointed the 8th of August as a general meeting for mutual advice and consultation. Had we not taken this step, we should have found ourselves in an em-

barrassing condition. We had proposed that Messrs. Robertson, Hill, and King, should be joint trustees of our intended school, of which we expected Mr. Walker to take the charge. The American Board declined allowing Mr. King to serve as a trustee. Our project was also opposed where we least expected it, and on the ground that it would interfere with the plans of Mrs. Hill. We had supposed this highly-gifted lady to be too much occupied with the school already under her charge to take upon herself added duties; but it appears that she had devised, and was desirous to put into execution, a scheme for educating female teachers similar to ours. Our agent, Mr. Walker, had been to Philadelphia, to confer with the proper officers of the Protestant Episcopal Society, and we had counselled with Mr. Boyd, their agent, during a visit which he made at Troy, and, from both consultations, we were led to believe that the arrangement effected between the societies might be made if we desired it.

“This was the state of affairs when the meeting of the 8th of August was held in Troy. A number of highly-respectable ladies, from different places, met and consulted with us, and, by their advice, we determined to place the proposed school for teachers under the guardianship of the Protestant Episcopal Society, having the fullest confidence in them and their agents at Athens.

“At the same time it was resolved that it was expedient that another meeting for consultation should be held in August of the succeeding year. We meet to-day for that purpose. What, then, are the circumstances on which our deliberations are to proceed? What steps have been taken? What important information received? What the condition of the funds? To carry into effect the resolution made on the 8th of August, the Troy society deemed it expedient to send a special agent to Philadelphia, and the writer of this report was deputed for the purpose.

She was favored with a long conversation with two members of the Committee for Foreign Missions, Dr. Montgomery and Mr. Van Pelt. These gentlemen were not without their apprehensions that evils might arise from forming the novel association proposed, and probably would have preferred that the ladies' societies should become auxiliary to theirs. An arrangement of this kind I had no authority to make, nor did I deem it at the time expedient. As women of different denominations, appealing to American women in the cause of our sex, we might draw from a fund not approachable to them as a missionary society; and facts have thus far shown that the supposition was correct. Should they appropriate any large share of the general fund for missionary purposes, to the object of extending the female education in Greece, the appropriations might not be approved of by those from whom they derived it. Though the connection of our society with theirs had in it something of novelty, yet it was perfectly intelligible. They were as the persons to keep the school; we as the parents of adopted children, pledging ourselves to send them a certain number of these as pupils, and pay for their support and instruction. Having satisfied the scruples of these excellent gentlemen, I transmitted a hastily-written memorial to the Executive Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America."

The substance of this memorial went to show that the Troy society would advance to the Missionary Society five hundred dollars for the erection of a building for the accommodation of beneficiaries, for whose board and clothing they also expected to pay, and also five hundred dollars, in addition, for the instruction of the pupils destined to be teachers. This appropriation of the Troy society was accepted by the trustees of the Board of Missions; and the venerable Bishop White, president of the society, called

upon the ladies of the Troy Board to express his sympathy with their cause, only stipulating that the school should be under Episcopal influence. Accordingly, two sums, of five hundred dollars each, were transmitted by the Troy society to Philadelphia, with the addition of five hundred dollars later in the year, besides valuable donations in books, music, etc. It would seem that this plan was indorsed by Mr. and Mrs. Hill in Greece, who entered heartily into it. At this time no school existed in Greece for the education of females, except at Athens and Syra. The selection of beneficiaries was wisely left to Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Robertson, the missionaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who already were in charge of a large school. And Mr. and Mrs. Hill were sanguine of great results, from the conviction that Greece must rise from her long depression; and, with a settled government, a delightful climate, a fertile soil, a favored geographical position, and in the possession of attractive monuments of antiquity, would draw to her shores tourists and travellers and merchants, who would be a great pecuniary benefit.

The Troy society seems to have been favored, and more than three thousand dollars, within eighteen months, passed through its hands for the benefit of female education in Greece. It created at the time considerable interest, and Mrs. Sigourney furnished, in aid of the cause, one of her best poems, of which the following is one of the stanzas:

“Ye ask no warrior’s aid—the Turk hath fled—
And on your throne Bavaria’s prince reels;
No gold or gems their dazzling light to shed,
Pearl from the sea, nor diamond from the mines :
Ye ask the ray from Learning’s lamp that shines,
To guide our sons, so long in error blind.
The cry doth reach us from your clustering vines,
Give bread and water to the famished mind,
And from its durance dark the imprisoned soul unbind.”

The following letter, from Dr. Samuel G. Howe, whose efforts in behalf of Greece are so well known, may not be uninteresting :

“BOSTON, *August 20, 1834.*

“MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

“DEAR MADAM: The members of your society are, indeed, the friends of Greece, and deserve more of her gratitude than many who joined her in her struggle for independence; for who could then fail to catch the enthusiasm which filled the world? who, that was at liberty, would not have joined the crusade which was to snatch the sepulchre of Grecian literature from the hold of the barbarian? And, once landed upon her shores, once breathing the air of Marathon and Thermopylæ, once enrolled under the blue banner of the cross, who could leave the lists before the contest was decided? But your society is not moved by any passing enthusiasm; it is not content to have aided in expelling the infidels from the soil of Greece; it sees that the liberty of the country is not yet secure; that political emancipation was but a step in the path of Grecian regeneration; and that, if she is not delivered from the thralldom of gross ignorance and blind superstition, she might almost as well have remained under the yoke of the Mussulman.

“It is true that the principal obstacle to the regeneration of Greece was the dominion of the Turks over the country, and that this has been removed by the revolution; but every thing remains to be done in the great work; and it is to be done by means of education. If we would restore Greece to her ancient glory; if we would give her commercial importance; if we would erect, on the outskirts of Christendom, light-houses and beacons to guide the missionary and teacher in the pagan East, we must elevate the moral and intellectual standard of the Greeks; we

must make of them the pioneers of religion and civilization in Asia.

“The Greeks, well aware of the importance of education, have themselves established schools in different parts of the country; and, so intelligent and quick-witted is the race, that I doubt not the male part of the population of the next generation will be as well instructed as that of the Western nations of Europe. But, if left to themselves, how many generations will pass away before they allow to woman her proper rank? They may build up a strong and enduring social edifice, but the most beautiful and ornamental pillar will be wanting.

“Now, there are many things which will retard the elevation of woman in Greece. The national traditions show that she has been the servant or the slave of man from the remotest antiquity. During the last four hundred years the country has been ruled by the Turks, who deny to woman a participation in human nature. Indeed, I have been often shocked in the East, when visiting some of the most enlightened men—men who lived in splendid luxury—to see a beautiful creature—the wife or daughter of the host—enter the room, splendidly attired, bearing a silver waiter with refreshments, which she presented to the guests with downcast eyes and hand laid humbly upon her heart. There was no introduction—no token of recognition; the master and the guest would smoke away unconcernedly; or, if some one like myself, whose heart was made of sterner stuff, gazed with pity upon the beauteous and smiling being who retreated slowly and meekly from the room, he was obliged to conceal his feeling, or be thought a fool for his indulgence.

“I mention this as an instance of the manner in which the females of Greece, in the higher ranks, are treated. Among the peasantry they are simply slaves; and, though the conjugal tie is generally sacred, and the wife is kindly

treated, yet she is expected to tax her physical strength to the utmost in the service of her lord.

“The women of Greece, as a body, are certainly among the most virtuous women of Europe. They partake of the national character for intelligence, and want only education to raise them to a high rank in the scale of moral excellence.

“I have received, from my correspondents in Greece, the most pleasing accounts of the effects of the labors of some of our countrymen in the field of education there; and it is a most gratifying thought that our country, after rendering such important assistance to Greece in the hour of her political agony, is now following up the good work by instructing her how to appreciate and secure liberty. And what a striking illustration does this fact afford one of the mutability of human affairs! The descendants of those rude barbarians, whom the Greeks despised, and had cause ultimately to hate, since they were the plunderers of their temples and despoilers of their riches, are now instructing the descendants of Homer and Plato in the very rudiments of science, and are rearing the broken altars of learning in Athens herself, and building school-houses in the very groves of Academus.

“But the ladies of your society need not the aid of my counsels; I can only say God speed them in their noble and holy undertaking.

“I remain, madam, yours truly,

“SAMUEL G. HOWE.”

If the limits of this work permitted, which is confined to the life and labors of Emma Willard, I would like to add the eloquent address of her sister, Mrs. Phelps, on “Female Education in Greece,” and which abounds in most excellent views; but such would be foreign to my plan. The day has not yet arrived for a life of Mrs. Phelps, since

she still, at an advanced age, is enjoying good health, and all the blessings which flow from a life of prosperity, usefulness, and honor.

The following hymn, written for the meeting of the Troy society in 1833, by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, another noble coadjutor in the cause of female education, and one of Mrs. Willard's friends and admirers, may not be inappropriate :

“Thou land of ancient story,
Proud deeds and mighty fame,
What scenes of power and glory
Throng round us at thy name!
That *name* alone is left thee—
Greece! breathe it low and deep;
The thought of all bereft thee
Might make the angels weep.

“Come there no words of cheering
Where Plato's ashes lie?
No star of hope appearing
On Homer's native sky?
O Grecia! by the token
We render thee to-day,
Believe the word is spoken,
The star has poured a ray.

“From woman's gentle pleading,
In woman's cause displayed,
What ear can turn unheeding,
What heart refuse its aid?
We'll say the risen Saviour
Made *her* His earliest friend,
And all who seek His favor
Must woman's cause defend.

“To man the earth was given,
Its pride, and place, and power.
The first sure pledge of Heaven
Was woman's precious dower.

And must she be forbidden
In mind's pure realm to share ?
Like fount in desert hidden,
Her gift of reason bear ?

" Oh, sure this mental prison
Is not her place of rest !
Behold, her star is risen,
All glorious in the West !
Across the heaving mountains,
Through superstition's night,
To Greece's suffering daughters,
Lord, send its healing light."

The following letter of Mrs. Willard to the ladies of the Troy society, in January, 1835, will show her constant interest in the enterprise, and also what had been effected to that period. It is in letters that Mrs. Willard's literary talents lay :

" GUILFORD, *January 10, 1835*

" TO THE LADIES OF THE TROY SOCIETY.

" MY DEAR FRIENDS : In bringing you before me in imagination, many thoughts and feelings arise in my mind. The formation of the " Troy Society for the Advancement of Female Education in Greece " awakens grateful recollections. A confidence was then manifested by my neighbors more gratifying than it would be to receive much of what the world calls attention ; and not only in the commencement, but in the progress of our operations, have I experienced much from you to remember with gratitude. And it has been, and still shall be, my study to deserve a confidence which I feel to be of great value.

" The missionary operations of the present day must, I think, be regarded by all Christians as the most glorious feature of the age—as the very dawning of the millennial day ; and, of those operations, I do not believe that one

can be pointed out where so small means have effected so great a result as the one in which we have been permitted to engage. By the last account from Greece, more has been done than the most sanguine among us anticipated could have been accomplished in so short a time. On the 5th day of July last, as appears by a letter from Mrs. Hill to the president of the society, the Government of Greece publicly manifested *not only their approbation* of our plan (which we hoped they would do), but their *intention to aid us by supporting twelve beneficiaries* at our school. This was more than we expected. During the past year the officers of the Protestant Episcopal Society have treated our society, in all their communications, with the utmost respect, and our pledge to them has been punctually redeemed.

“Our treasury department has fallen into the hands of Mr. Lee. It has been necessarily connected with the sale of our book, which has been a task of magnitude to him and to me; and, whoever takes the office of treasurer, we must still be indebted to him to settle up accounts with booksellers, as no other person understands our book transactions.

“I do not know exactly the state of our funds, as Mr. Lee had not made up the accounts when I left home, nor will it be possible for him to tell precisely what we shall realize from our book during the coming year; but I do not feel apprehensive that any great difficulty will be found in redeeming our pledge of five hundred dollars, to be paid next summer. We shall have one hundred dollars from Norwich, and the young ladies of the seminary are engaged in working for a fair.

“It remains for the ladies of the society to say whether they are disposed to give any thing this year, by contributing their labor to aid in this fair, or their money in direct contributions. I am the less unwilling to be absent from

this meeting, because I would not be understood as urging it upon them. Needing the patronage and support of the people of Troy, in order to sustain the almost insupportable weight of care and responsibility which devolves upon me in maintaining the Troy Female Seminary in its present extended condition, I could not sacrifice any part of your good-will by urging you beyond the bent of your feelings; but, for my own, they are warm in this cause. It is a generous, a glorious cause. When I think of my Saviour's kingdom, I feel that I have done something to promote it. When I think of dying and leaving all that I have in this world, I think I have laid up some treasure in heaven. And shall we now *draw back* from an undertaking which we *took up in peril and darkness*, with the derision of many upon the extravagance and unreasonableness of our views, which we *have pursued with union and constancy* through discouragement and opposition? Shall we *now* draw back, when success has given us to hope that it is the pleasure of the Lord which is prospering in our hands? when we see that our efforts have already been the means of aiding to give our sex a consideration in the East they have never before enjoyed? For never, since time began, has any government in that part of the world (if in any other) made a public decree whose object was the special improvement and elevation of the female character.

"The 5th of July may yet be regarded as an era in the history of female improvement. We have now the eyes of the public upon us; and, as we have done well, something more will be expected. Reasonable expectations we should, no doubt, like to satisfy, though I trust we have sufficient independence to disregard those which are not. If we could pay, with what assistance we shall gain from other sources and from the sale of our books, the five hundred dollars per annum for the two years succeeding the present, to which we are conditionally pledged, we should fulfil

all reasonable expectations ; if we pay the next year only, it is all that we have absolutely engaged. May Divine Wisdom guide your deliberations, and blessings from above descend and rest upon you !

“Affectionately your friend,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

The next letter, with which I close this chapter, is a letter to Miss Aldis, in which she seems to pour out her heart in the cause of the Greeks :

“TROY, *April* 15, 1833.

“MY VERY DEAR MIRANDA : . . . Now, Miranda, about the poor Greeks ; they must be thought of ; and poor me, who now stand before the public with such a weight of responsibility in reference to them, that my back will certainly be broken if the rest of you do not help lift. I want you to look to this matter before you leave St. Albans, if you even delay a day or two. Mary will not go to New York quite so soon as she thought she should when she wrote you last. She now expects to go about the 15th of May. I shall send you by mail our circular, directed to your most influential ladies. Perhaps you will do well to go round and see them, and consult with them in the first place, and get them individually stirred up, and then appoint a meeting, which I hope will result in your forming a coöperating society. Cordelia will help you in every way she can. She will make a good recording secretary to your society, but you may think of a better. I don't mean to interfere, but I hope you will be the corresponding secretary ; and, further (which I take a deep interest in), I hope you will be a delegate to our convention of the 8th of August. I hope to get together at that time a number of the most *talented* (it is a bad word, but never mind) women in the country. If we could effect that, we

should effect what would result in good, for which posterity would have cause to bless us. To effect that I have long seen would be one of the most important things for the good of the world, but I never expected it would be done in my day. I say not this merely in reference to the good we may do the Greeks, by making a central point of the soundest female influence in our yet sound country, but in reference to many other important things for the good of our sex and country. We would depose the idol Fashion, so long the tyrant of our sex and the mother of abominations, and make her our servant; and she would serve us well, too. I think we shall have Mrs. Sigourney here. She has taken up with a 'beauty of holiness' in this good work. Mr. Walker has been or now is in Hartford, and he says they will outdo Troy in benevolence to the Greeks; and we shall rejoice to be outdone. Sister Phelps (the Lord bless her, for she is a good woman) will do in her quarter, and I hope she will return to us on the 8th of August. . . . Now, you may think it will be difficult to be here the 8th of August; but, when important good is to be done, there is a pleasure in striving and overcoming difficulties, and travelling won't hurt you. I should like to have Miss Swift here, too, on the 8th of August; and there would be no harm in one of the Fullers coming, if that one was Mary Ann. Miranda, if this Greek business succeeds, we shall do great good, depend upon it. If you can help the cause by giving away the pamphlets, give them or send them where they will do the most good; and, if ten or twenty dollars are any way needed to help along in forming your society, consider that you have so much of the society's money in your hands, and I will pay it you. For instance, there are, may be, ladies with whom you are sufficiently intimate, whose influence would be important, who yet do not know how to give money; but you may not think best

to do such things, I merely give you a hint. When you come to Troy, I ought to pay some money on our account, and I will. I have not yet sent out our circulars. I have been busy in sending forth the pamphlets, and I thought it best to send them out first, and leave the appeal to work a little on the public mind. St. Albans is the first place in Vermont to which we send, for I thought it the most likely to do, and set an example worthy of imitation. . . .

“The Miss Bakers improve wonderfully. They are fine girls, and are treated among us with much respect.

“Yours affectionately,

“E. WILLARD.”

CHAPTER XL

MARRIAGE WITH DR. YATES.

I COME now to treat a very delicate and difficult subject—the unfortunate marriage of Mrs. Willard with Dr. Yates. Gladly would I omit this sad chapter, but, by so doing, this memoir would be partial and incomplete. It is misfortune, not folly, which I am to describe; and, when viewed in all its relations, reflects no discredit on Mrs. Willard, although it cast a gloom over her whole subsequent life, and perhaps dimmed the lustre of her prestige and fame.

The nature of Mrs. Willard was frank, confiding, hopeful, enthusiastic, and affectionate. She was just the person to be the victim of a designing, cold, and calculating marriage-seeker. And her high position in society, her great reputation, her independent circumstances, and her supposed affluence, made her a prize for a worldly man. Moreover, she was in the fulness of health; and, if no longer young, still attractive and beautiful in person. Her blended qualities of soul, of heart, of mind, and body, young in feelings, and genial in disposition, rendered her susceptible to those influences which create what we call love. Especially in those exalted sentiments which spring from an ardent soul, and which ever form the basis of love, she was preëminent. Is it strange, then, that she should

have formed an affection for a man whom she deemed worthy of her regard? Young people, with crude ideas of profound attachments, may perhaps smile. But human experience attests the truth of strong personal attractions late in life. The world is not skeptical as to the love of men at any age. Why should it be in reference to that of woman, who has even greater affections and higher qualities of soul than men are supposed to possess?

Now, it happened, in the year 1837, when the Troy Seminary was at the height of its renown, and Mrs. Willard was in her glory, that she formed the acquaintance of Dr. Yates, a physician of Albany. He was highly respected, and had been for thirty years a member of the Christian Church. This acquaintance passed into friendship, and ripened into a stronger sentiment. And no wonder, for Dr. Yates was agreeable, gentlemanly, cultivated, and intelligent. In process of time Mrs. Willard received proposals of marriage. These proposals were not rashly considered. "I felt clear in my own mind," to use her language, in a letter to her daughter, in April, 1838, "in making the engagement, and had the entire approbation of my two advisers, Colonel Stone and Mr. Davies. We have had time for acquaintance, and we have not yet found a stone that jars. His daughter Catharine is one that I do think you will love and be beloved by. She and I love each other sincerely, and I feel that she will be most essential to our arrangements, which are, to go to house-keeping in some central part of the city, such as is best for his business, immediately after our engagement shall have been fulfilled, which may probably be somewhere about the regular seminary time for getting married.

"Almira and Mr. Phelps wrote me excellent letters of advice just in time to aid my deliberations. I believe, when affairs are settled on the new plan, that the family

interest will be promoted, and the happiness, also, of all parties concerned. Dr. Yates wishes me to arrange every thing in reference to my own time to please myself, and Catharine is an excellent house-keeper, and fond of it, and pleased to be useful, and I intend to give strict attention to my school-books. This is an honorable and sacred act, which I am about to perform solemnly and deliberately, and I do not hold my dignity any the less on account of it."

The following letter, from Colonel Stone, will show his views of the engagement, and of the character of Dr. Yates :

"NEW YORK, *April* 13, 1838.

"MRS. E. WILLARD.

"MY DEAR MADAM: I wrote you a few lines from Albany on Monday afternoon, and made special arrangements that you should receive the dispatch on that evening. I hope it arrived safely. If not, it is of high importance to you that I should restate the substance of that communication.

"Since my return to the city, I have endeavored, with honor, fidelity, and diligence, to discharge the delicate duty confided to me. I have consulted Chancellor Kent, without having occasion, even remotely, to allude to yourself. He would not, in such a case, give an opinion either way touching the proposed alliance. But his views are favorable to the gentleman concerned. They have recently had no direct intercourse, but formerly, when in Albany, exchanged some literary civilities; and the chancellor's opinion is creditable to the literary taste, to the talents, and the gentlemanlike deportment, of the individual in question. He also believes him to be a very amiable man.

"I have ascertained from another gentleman, who is on

terms of great intimacy with the gentleman in question, that the story of his gambling *is entirely untrue*. Were it true, or were there the least foundation for it, my informant would know; *and he has spoken to me with the utmost sincerity*. He pronounces him one of the most amiable men whom he ever knew, and says he would make a lady of congenial tastes and cultivated intellect most happy in the conjugal state.

“Under these circumstances, all things considered, it strikes me that the question of his *infidelity* is that alone which you have occasion further to discuss.

“I am, very truly, your friend as ever,

“WILLIAM L. STONE.”

Then follows a letter from Mrs. Phelps, which is a model of wisdom and character. She anticipates the difficulties which would naturally arise; among others, opposition from the family—one of the most natural things in the world—and she gives good advice as to finances, and shows a sisterly affection:

“BRATTLEBORO, May 4, 1838.

“MY DEAR SISTER: I cannot for a moment entertain the idea that —— will make a serious opposition to your marriage; if he does, it will be the more convincing argument to my mind that you do well in taking the step. If you must have a master, let it be a husband rather than a child. But you must make great allowances for the shocks which this would naturally produce on the mind. My two girls will lose a second mother; but, if you gain a good husband, who will render your declining years more cheerful and interesting, let the young look out for themselves. I expect they, too, will at first feel as if the sun was extinguished in the firmament; they suffered a great deal—particularly Jane—on account of *my* marriage.

"I conclude that, having decided, you will not wish to delay the consummation of this event for any length of time, as your position, at the best, is a very trying one, though you will, no doubt, carry it through with dignity. But the case of a widow, at your time of life, being engaged, is somehow so regarded by the world, and is so awkward, that the sooner you change your position the better. I trust you will remember the good advice you gave me in respect to keeping the command of your own property; and I pray that all your counsels may be aided by Divine wisdom. You have not mentioned whether Dr. Yates is a pious man. I trust you would not engage yourself to one who did not, at least, respect religion; and real piety would be truly desirable. I hope, also, he is of your own denomination; for, though these things do not enter into the romance of life, they are of great importance in realities. You have said nothing about the pecuniary affairs of your intended, by which omission I infer there is not much to be said. If he is a good man and will make you a good husband, this is no great matter, perhaps, as you will yet have to exercise your faculties, which may be better for you than to have nothing to do but enjoy a fortune, and certainly will be for the advantage of the world."

Jesse Buel, a man of high standing at Albany, thus gives his testimony:

"ALBANY, *June 7, 1838.*

"DEAR MADAM: I sit down, for the fourth time, madam, to reply to your letter of the 4th, having been as often prevented by company; and, as I have no control of the coming half-hour, shall give brief answers, though, I trust, satisfactory ones, to your inquiries in the order they are put; and—

"1. I have been well acquainted with Dr. C. C. Yates for about twenty-four years.

"2. The relations between us have been those of friends and neighbors.

"3. Had I not respected him as a gentleman of veracity, integrity, and honor, our intercourse would not have been thus prolonged.

"4. His disposition has ever appeared to me kind, affectionate, and benevolent, though I do not mean by this to exempt him from the common frailties of humanity.

"5. So far as I have been able to judge, he has ever been attentive and prompt in his professional business.

"6. I have never known or heard of his being otherwise than scrupulously temperate in his habits, and opportunity has enabled me to be a judge in this matter.

"8. The best response I can make is, that my opinion of the Russel case did not deter me from continuing to employ him as my family physician to the time of his removal to New York.

"9. I have never heard of a suggestion in my family that his conduct has ever been aught but what belonged to the gentleman and the friend."

10. This article is long, and I give extracts :

"I have never known or heard of any thing that went to compromise his character as an *upright, honorable* man. Such has been my confidence that I freely lent him my name, and I have been justified in my confidence by his paper having been faithfully paid at maturity."

The concluding sentence : "I have ever considered the doctor as an able physician, a *worthy friend*, and an unjustly-abused man.

"With great respect, madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. BUEL.

"Dr. Y—— was in Albany on the 5th or 6th."

("This letter was written by Judge Buel, as I have reason to suppose, with the knowledge that I had suspended my engagement with Dr. Y——, and that it might probably be the means of restoring my confidence, as, in reality, it was, in a great degree.—E. W.")

Thus matters prospered smoothly, with no other drawback than a little disagreeable gossip, for people will talk, especially about marriage-engagements; and there is not probably one marriage out of a hundred which does not provoke unpleasant remarks. We are rarely satisfied with other people's engagements. It is very seldom that a father, or a mother, or a sister, or a brother, and, least of all, a son or daughter, is satisfied. No one is satisfied unless he or she makes the match. And, when age or propriety is a matter of consideration, the dissatisfaction is generally universal. I suppose, if mere calculation and expediency entered into a marriage-relation, few people would ever be married at all; and those who would marry would be the people to sell themselves. At least, such would be the case in a virtuous and unhackneyed state of society. When it is artificial, selfish, conventional—when money is the main-spring of all action and the test of all social position, as in old Rome and modern capitals, particularly Paris and London—then marriages of convenience provoke but little criticism, compared with marriages in a healthy and natural state of society. Love ought to be the one great and simple argument for matrimony; and, by the young, love generally is the motive, unless life is too expensive for happiness with privations. When people pass the period of middle life, the world is skeptical as to love. It is seldom that there is love on both sides where there is a great inequality of years. An old man may fancy a young girl; and, if he is rich, he may remove the obstacles in many cases, since there are many

young girls who prefer carriages and horses, palaces and travel, and gorgeous furniture, and a brilliant outside life, to any love. But she marries, not for love, but for the objects which are dearest to *her* soul. Old men are strangely infatuated on this point, but the voice of Nature and experience is against them. They have to pay dearly for their pleasure or their vanity. And women have to pay dearly for the violation of the laws of Nature. Hence all unequal marriages are apt to turn out unfortunate—if not to the eyes of the world, yet to the parties themselves. Pride may conceal misery, but misery consumes the soul. So, also, marriages formed late in life, even if the parties are properly matched as to age, are frequently unfortunate. They are very apt to be if there is any property at stake. People, late in life, grow timid and parsimonious, and wonder how they can live. To such people marriage is a temptation, if it seems to improve their condition. Dependent old ladies and dependent old gentlemen, in need of money, catch at the apples of Sodom. When there are no apples to seize, it is all well enough. There is a presumption that loneliness, similarity of taste, and friendship, are the basis of a matrimonial alliance. The world laughs, for a day, to see old people marry; but, if the marriage is happy, no diminution of respect ensues. When, however, a needy old fellow, with expensive tastes and gentlemanly manners, proposes to a rich widow, no longer young, and with all the obstacles of a family to boot, the fair presumption is that he marries for her money. He may succeed in deceiving her; he may be potent in blandishments and skilful in flatteries, but the probability is that he is mercenary, while she may be sincere, admiring, and even loving, for a woman's nature is more trustful than man's, especially if she is pleased and captivated by brilliant conversation. But she runs a great risk, even then, however deeply her affections may be called out.

Mrs. Willard, affectionate and impulsive as was her nature, was not the woman to do any thing rashly or blindly. In process of time rumors reached her ears that Dr. Yates was lacking in those things upon which she placed the utmost importance—that he was lax and even infidel in his religious opinions. She was shaken in her opinion, and was, of course, rendered very unhappy. Misunderstandings arose, which culminated in the breaking of the engagement. That it was broken on religious and lofty grounds the following letter, from Mrs. Colonel Stone, a sister of the late President Wayland, her intimate friend, sufficiently shows :

“NEW YORK, Friday, *June 8*, 1838.

“MY DEAR MRS. WILLARD : The contents of your letter have sunk into the very depths of my heart. My spirit is with you in sympathy. I sit by your side, in your own chamber and studio, and see you, with trembling hands, just draw out a parcel, hesitate, then untie, then partly open, and, while your eye rests on the contents, your mind is lost in contemplation, and you struggle between love and duty. For, though we may summon energy for a bold stroke which must be given, the mind must long contemplate it at leisure to become familiarized—I had almost said acquainted with its own act. After the act is accomplished, we still love, in the stillness of our own bosoms, to recapitulate and investigate the reasons which have brought about the important result. My dear sister, I take you by the hand ; you have acted nobly ; you have sacrificed your earthly affections to your heavenly ; and that God, who is rich in mercy, will, I trust, yet hear our prayers, and cause us to bless Him for the present sorrow, which, through His merciful interposition, may bring the proud yet noble spirit an humble suppliant at the foot of the cross.

“You judged truly. You could not have been happy, *even with him*, while that difference existed. *Religion*, to those who know its value, and who are in the habit of seeking God and His grace for their daily portion, is not a *mere opinion*. It is interwoven with our existence—it is a habit of the soul. And, though we may be drawn aside through temptation, yet the soul who has once felt the presence of God can never be long a wanderer and be happy. I have felt more upon this subject than I can express. . . .”

It would seem that Colonel Stone was confounded when he learned the dissolution of the engagement and the cause of it. He believed fully in the Christian character of a man who had been for thirty years in regular standing as a communicant of the Church. Moreover, Dr. Yates had declared to Mrs. Willard herself that he was a Christian—not in any technical sense, but in the full import of that term. He accordingly visited Dr. Yates, and questioned him on the points at issue. The following letter will reveal the difficulties, in a measure :

“NEW YORK, *June 11, 1838.*

“MY DEAR MADAM: Returning from a rapid excursion to Stonington on Saturday morning, I was astounded at the receipt of your letter of Wednesday evening, which reached the hands of Mrs. Stone on Friday. The negotiations between yourself and Dr. Yates had proceeded so smoothly; the obstacles had yielded so readily on investigation; the engagement had been made so positively; the facts of its existence had been diffused so widely; the proposed alliance was so obviously one of strong and mutual affection; and, on the whole, the promise between you was so great, that I was confounded at the sudden change and the result. I had not been long seated in my office

before your son entered with the casket, requesting of me the performance of an office at once painful and unexpected. John urged my immediate attendance to the business of this new and special trust, as it was his strong desire to return by the boat to Troy the same evening.

"I was, therefore, compelled to make the visit to Dr. Yates before I had time for much reflection or to arrange my own thoughts. Fortunately, however, the reception by his daughter of your letter to her had prepared him for my errand, although he probably did not expect me so soon. I found the doctor composed, but evidently suffering from deep emotion. On announcing my business, he entered into a full conversation upon the subject, and reviewed the entire history of the negotiation, from the moment in which I became indirectly connected with it until its final abrupt termination—that is, if the interruption of the engagement between you is final. The doctor detailed to me the circumstances under which he made his last visit to Troy; the affectionate manner of his reception; his visit with you to West Troy, and the object of that visit; gave me an account of your visit the same day to Albany; your taking tea with my old friend Southwick; and spoke with great feeling of the unalloyed happiness of that day. He also spoke of your parting on that evening, after a day of so much pleasure, and without the remotest suspicion that either your feelings or your purposes had undergone the slightest change, or were even then (as it seems they must have been) in what the geologists term a *transition* state. His surprise on the following morning, at the change in the manner of his reception, was of course as great as had been his hopes and his happiness the day before.

"And here, my dear friend, I cannot but be permitted to suggest whether there was not an unfortunate misunderstanding between you as to the *feelings* and *motives*

of each other on that morning. I am inclined to think there was, from the copy of a letter which the doctor informed me he addressed to you on Friday evening, before the receipt of your letter to his daughter, and before he had brought himself to believe that your decision against him was irrevocable. Now, it is not for a moment to be supposed that either yourself or your sister intended to *coerce* him—to bend him to your own religious views, by force, as it were, and even compulsion. But such appears to have been his impression at the moment; and it presented an aspect of the case which he could not brook, and against which his proud spirit rose. Whereas, according to the declarations of the doctor, solemnly made to me, had you seen him first *alone* on that morning, and attempted to win him over by the endearments of the affection which it cannot be doubted you bear him, he would at once and gladly have knelt at the altar by your side, and implored, from the God in whom you both believe, that direction which you needed, and a ray of that Divine light upon his own mind which had glanced upon your own soul on the preceding evening.

“I questioned the doctor, more closely than I at first expected to do, in regard to his religious belief. He assured me that he was not only a believer in the Deity, but in Jesus Christ. He has doubts, however, on the question of the *divinity* of Christ. I told him I should rejoice to have him become an orthodox Trinitarian, and proposed that he should look into Paley or some other author on the subject. He replied that he had studied all the authors upon that question; but that, in regard to the service and the tenets of your Church, you could judge of the respect in which he held them from the fact that he had educated his daughters Episcopalians, and he had assured you that he would attend the church with you, and read the service with you at home. And he added to me that

he was desirous of being led into the right belief, and could, with you (or rather had intended with you), to be in the use of the means for bringing his own belief into harmony with yours, if means would have the effect. And now, my dear madam, knowing, as you did, that his opinions were not in coincidence with your own on this subject before your engagement, could you have hoped to do more by way of favorably influencing those opinions than you have accomplished during the few weeks of your personal acquaintance?

“In regard to the breaking off of the match, the doctor spoke with great feeling and great emotion. But he said nothing harsh or unkind toward yourself. He thinks that he has been most cruelly treated, and that his character will be deeply wounded in the estimation of the public, should your decision be final, whenever the rupture shall be known to the public. The true cause of the rupture, he says, cannot be known—or at least the public will not be ready to believe in the true cause, should it be assigned. He has submitted to have the transactions of his whole life investigated for your satisfaction. He has dealt in all respects fairly and truly with you. Old calumnies have been revived; they have been investigated and refuted to your own satisfaction. And now, after all this, and after the widest publicity had been given to the fact of the intended marriage, the doctor thinks that the public will believe the rupture to have been occasioned by some disgraceful and blasting disclosure which he could not meet and put down. Hence, he feels that he must suffer cruelly and most unjustly. My own opinion is, that the separation, after matters had proceeded so far, must be, in a greater or less degree, *disastrous* to you both.”

This letter of Colonel Stone must be regarded as peculiarly unfortunate, as well as any efforts to produce a recon-

ciliation. When an engagement is once broken, it is most hazardous to renew it on any ground whatever. It is very seldom that a happy marriage ever results after a serious quarrel, or even misunderstanding. What has happened once may happen again. It is impossible to mend a broken jar. When a serious quarrel occurs, there are ever left the seeds of future alienation, distrust, suspicion—something which is fatal. It is very easy to “patch up” a quarrel, when there are strong affectionate instincts; but there will almost certainly be a recurrence of difficulties. Mrs. Willard’s faith in Dr. Yates was shaken, against all her wishes, and this should have settled the matter forever.

Through ingenious arts, by himself or through others, Dr. Yates at last accomplished his purpose. Mrs. Willard weakly and foolishly relented, and the marriage took place on the 17th of September, 1838.

The mask which Dr. Yates had worn was now thrown off. His aim evidently was to gain possession of Mrs. Willard’s property, which he could only do by mean devices, since she had been prudent enough to secure her separate estate by a marriage contract. He was determined that she should pay all his expenses. Within two hours after the marriage ceremony, he called upon her to furnish the money for the expenses of the wedding-dinner.

To quote the language of the petition of her lawyer, when she subsequently appealed for a divorce, it would appear that, immediately on her arrival in Boston, where Dr. Yates had taken a house in Louisburg Square, “he refused to keep any account of his expenses, and was continually making ruinous and cruel exactions on her separate funds, embracing not merely her own interests, but those of her children and the institution to which she had devoted her life. Draft after draft did she sign in tears, and merely in compliance with his will. All her suggestions of prudence and economy were met with insult and

abuse. She saw her property fast disappearing, and inevitable ruin staring her in the face.

“But he at length resolved upon a bolder stroke. Of that separate estate which, in his disinterested love, he had determined never to touch, he now proposed that she should convey to him the sum of ten thousand dollars. He wished her to purchase a magnificent mansion, and bestow it upon himself and his daughter. To insure the accomplishment of this object, he resolved to break her spirit, to make her loathe life, and humble her with the most abject submission to his will.

“In pursuance of this design, he assailed her with repeated insult and virulent abuse. He combined, with his daughter, to plot against her domestic peace, and to treat her with indignity and contempt. He was lavish of her money in dressing and decorating his daughter, altogether omitting the care of his wife. He called her suggestions of economy meanness, and had recourse to various petty artifices contrived to annoy her and destroy her self-respect. The whole tenor of his conduct seemed designed to humiliate her and sink her in the dust. In the course of less than ten months seven thousand dollars of her estate were expended, and about five thousand dollars more were subsequently obtained and converted to his own use. Articles of plate, paintings, engravings, household furniture, books, were among the spoils. A costly necklace, with ornaments of jewelry, which the petitioner had purchased in Europe, he seized and bestowed upon his daughter, though it was subsequently relinquished.

“But his scheme did not end here. While your petitioner resided with the respondent at Boston, it was the practice of the family to meet on Sunday mornings for family worship. He used, on such occasions, to read a chapter in the Bible, and afterward read prayers from a book. While the other members of the family knelt, he

remained sitting. He often read in a light and irreverent manner, making hideous mistakes, apparently with design, and, as the other members of the family rose from their knees, he would look at them and laugh. In reading the Scriptures, he would make blasphemous and indecent comments. He would make mock-grace at table. He even tried to make his wife believe that her sister in Ohio had become a maniac, and had murdered her husband. He assailed her with abuse, so that she was made ill. And, when she was subject to turns of illness, he paid no attention to her."

But I will not enumerate the insults and the cruelties which it was alleged, before the Connecticut Legislature, this man inflicted on his wife. Nor do I seek to balance the account, and present *his* side of the affair. I present the matter as I find it in official papers.

Dr. Yates, doubtless, had the power to worry and torment his wife after the scales had fallen from their eyes, and disappointment took the place of love, to say nothing of hatred and malignity. So far as this affair was an infatuation, it was bitterly atoned for. The old Greeks represented love as blind, and very properly, in view of its mysteries. But there was probably no blindness on the part of Dr. Yates, only simple calculation. All *his* professions of love were, doubtless, insincere. Mrs. Willard was honest and straightforward, and the worst that can be said on her part was the unseemliness, in the eyes of the world, of a strong affection at her time of life and in her circumstances.

Both were doomed to disappointment of the bitterest kind. She awoke to find that her love was scorned, and that she was regarded merely as a prize, to furnish him with money. He awoke to discover that he could not long plunder such an estimable lady; that she had a dignity of character he never dreamed of, and a resolution to defend her rights, though trampled in the dust.

How intense must be the agony of misplaced affections! How deep the despair which must seize a high-minded person, whether man or woman, when the discovery is made that love was illusive; that the heart is bankrupt; that all happiness has hopelessly fled; that joy is turned into sorrow; that peace is supplanted by unrest; and that there is no escape from a dungeon of wretchedness but by a course necessarily attended with misrepresentation, ridicule, pity, and humiliation! What a monstrous misfortune may come from a hasty step, and that step guided by a generous impulse! And this is a misfortune of which the remedy is even worse than the disease. Who does not dread publicity, gossip, scandal, when the deepest sentiments are exposed to the gaze of the world, and when the world has no sympathy, and but little charity? Women, who are yoked to men whose character and habits turn all love into disgust, and all affection into hatred, generally prefer to bear their trials in patience and silence, than brave the comments of a cold and heartless world, especially when conscience, pride, and religion, alike command forbearance. But such women are broken down, nevertheless, and can seldom rally without the sympathy of children and friends, or the calls of duty which take them from their homes, or some engrossing pursuit, like literary labor. And I should not be surprised to learn that three out of four of literary women are driven to these labors by domestic misfortunes. More write to relieve their sorrows than to earn their bread. It is in all this soul-isolation, or misery, or discontent, that poetry is often born, and oftener nursed. Misanthropy, bitterness, and women's rights, are the fruit of domestic disappointments. You may generally know when a woman is happy in her love, by the radiance of her smiles, the frankness of her manners, and the simplicity of her faith. She believes; she is healthy in her views; she never

sneers ; and is rarely radical. But I will not enlarge on the misfortunes of one-quarter of the women who bend their necks to the yoke of matrimony. Some are dispirited and heart-broken ; others are bitter and misanthropic ; and others, again, defiant and irreligious. Everybody who knew Mrs. Willard, or who has heard of her, knows that her second marriage was as unfortunate as the first was happy and beautiful. Therefore we speak without reserve.

But her husband made a great mistake when he supposed he could bend such a woman to his purposes. Mrs. Willard was overwhelmed with sorrow and disappointment, but she was not crushed. Her health gave way, and her condition was wretched and unendurable. So she concluded to leave him—a most incontestable right, and her only policy. Yet, seeking to avoid a public exposure of his conduct, she drew an agreement of separation, placing the necessity of it in differences of opinion and uncongenialities of mind. A high-minded man would at once have consented to such a course ; but not Dr. Yates, since his living would be cut off, and he driven to follow his profession, rather than to ape the gentleman of leisure. So he treated her paper with scorn, declared that he would force her to live with him, and meanly caused the difficulty to be published in a newspaper. She left him, however, forever ; and, from June, 1839, she never saw his face again. In due time she succeeded in obtaining a divorce from the Legislature of the State of Connecticut, with permission to bear her former name.

It is not necessary to cite many letters in reference to this unfortunate affair. In a letter to Miss Foster, October 17, 1839, it would appear that it was the utter want of religious principle which Mrs. Willard soon detected in Dr. Yates which produced the first great disappointment and most serious alienation. It was not his prodigality or his meanness, but his impiety. She thus writes : "In un-

guarded moments the real character will appear, and the cureless pang which smote upon my heart when acts of impiety developed the utter destitution of religious principle in the man to whom my heart and my fate were united. Then, when I felt that I must reprove, or be false to my Maker and my Redeemer, then came alienation, and at length such personal ill usage, that, had I attempted to continue to live with him, I could not, for life or reason would have been the sacrifice. And now the separation is made once for all; my final dream of earthly happiness is passed; and I am more ready, I think, in mind, than I ever have been, to be devoted to His service who will, if we love Him, make all things, even our serious afflictions, work for our good. I am now calm, resigned, and perhaps convinced of the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness, of God more than I ever have been. But, to be in perfect charity with men, I have of late found very difficult; but it is duty, and I humbly pray for the assistance of God's grace to aid me in fulfilling it."

In this letter we observe two things: First, Mrs. Willard did not then contemplate divorce, but simply separation. To the former she was ultimately driven by circumstances. Secondly, we see the illustration, to me very impressive, that a good woman, harshly treated by her husband, turns to the Lord, rather than, as is more frequently the case, becomes radical, strong-minded, and infidel—the fruit of bitterness and rebellion. Mrs. Willard always felt keenly the sense of injury from man, but without being misanthropic, and by becoming more religious and submissive to the Divine will, which should ever be the result of afflictions, and which are sent as a discipline and trial, rather than as a chastisement, as in the case of Job. It cannot be doubted that this great misfortune ever after tinged her character with a sort of sadness. She was never afterward so joyous and high-spirited. But she

never lost her good-humor, her wit, or her vivacity. She never became morbid and bitter; and she gathered strength to perform her future tasks with more zeal in behalf of great causes and interests.

The following letter, written to her intimate friend Miss Aldis, of Vermont, may perhaps throw additional light on the affair, as it seems to be a summary of the whole transaction :

“TROY, *January 11, 1840.*

“MY DEAR MIRANDA : Your letter is just received, and I am determined that not an hour shall pass over my head before it is answered. I regret that you should have had any physical or mental ill to impair your health or mar your happiness. Your parents, too, good and kind and wise as they are—it is a pity such should grow old. I have had a lesson to show me the value of good people, which I shall never forget. Your conjectures, concerning the suffering to which I was subjected before I would take the step I did, were right. When we meet again, which I hope may be before another New-Year’s day, I will explain to you what I cannot now. Miranda, do you know Mrs. General Wool? She is now living in Troy. When she was in New York, not long since, she said to persons who were canvassing my affairs : ‘Most persons think Mrs. Willard was hasty in engaging herself to Dr. Y——. I was her confidante, and I think few ladies use more caution in making inquiries, but she was deceived and betrayed.’ After I had allowed myself to believe his professions, and listen to his art, yet seeming childlike artlessness, to love him and to engage to marry him, to write him letters of affection, and receive such from him, why, then I regarded myself as bound in conscience the same as if I had been legally bound; and, to my view, it required almost as much to dissolve my obligation to him then as it has since.

When I found so much was said, I felt my confidence impaired, but I could not violate so sacred an engagement because people said he bore a bad character, while the assertion came in that general form. Nothing is easier than to make these general assertions. Besides, the people that made them were mostly interested that I should remain as I was; and many of them openly took ground that I had no right to marry. When I heard reports, I naturally referred them to him, and he was ready with an answer. Nevertheless, I said if people would bring specific facts, I would investigate them. Mr. Cox, our St. John's minister, said he would do so, and told me one which I paid his and my sister's expenses to go to New York to investigate. It turned out to be unfounded, nor could they hear any thing material to his disadvantage. But, I took exception to something he said on religious subjects, to *suspend* the engagement. I never said it was broken off; for, in my secret soul, I did not think the remark such a one as justified my violating my engagement, though it was exceptionable. How artfully did he play his game at this time, to make me believe he was not the irreligious man which I feared; to make me believe he was ready to act a generous part; to keep and increase his hold on my affections and on my conscience, by seeming to be worthy of my confidence!—and, if he was, I was bound in conscience to marry him. I think I have never been more unhappy than at this period. My health could not stand against my mental struggles, and I determined to marry him. When I told sister of it, she would have gone upon her knees to prevent it, but I told her to forbear, that it was a matter I had thought over and prayed over, and my own mind *did not, would not* sustain me in any other course, and, come what would of it, I would never reproach myself. If he made me a good husband, I should not regret the measure, for very much had happened to make me wish to leave

Troy. If he should be the bad husband that had been predicted, when he proved himself so by ill usage, and I saw I could not be the means of correcting him, then my conscience would acquit me of my contract when he had made void his. And all this has been accomplished. Words cannot tell the agonies that I have endured. He found my fame and my own opinion of possessing talent above the common mind inconvenient to him, and he set himself systematically to work to bend and break my spirit. This was not the worst. His shocking irreligion, manifested at times when he acted as a priest in the family, to lead in such devotional services as we kept up till the day I left him, gave me more anguish than any thing else, and were of a nature to justify me, before God and man, in refusing to live with him. When I left Boston, I felt that it was *uncertain* whether I should live with him again. I brought away myself and my private papers. My property was settled on myself; and, if times are such that any one can live, it is, though somewhat impaired, sufficient for my purposes. And I am now like a mariner who has escaped a shipwreck—thankful for what is saved—for life, for reason, friends, and a thousand comforts with which a kind Providence has surrounded me. . . .

“In regard to my returning to my place in Middlebury, nothing is yet decided. . . .

“Your attached friend,

“EMMA WILLARD.” :

Thus have I written all that need be known, to give a fair view of this melancholy episode in the life of a great woman. It is a painful duty to describe misfortunes and trials, especially when the general current of life flows calmly and happily. And I trust this brief view, instead of revealing weakness, will rather increase our respect for Mrs. Willard, for all are subject to trials, and the generous

and the warm-hearted are most frequently assailed with the trials of the heart.

Of course, the care of the seminary was relinquished when the engagement took place. It was, however, intrusted to able and judicious hands, whose uniform prosperity, for thirty-four years, attests the wisdom of her choice. The superintendence and guidance of instruction fell to the lot of Lucretia, the wife of John H. Willard, who had been trained in the seminary from an early period of her life, and was thus familiar with the principles which Mrs. Emma Willard sought to establish; while Mr. John H. Willard superintended the financial interests of the seminary, with a general oversight of the whole. The entire coöperation of these two excellent people to promote the great interests of education has been well rewarded; and, when *they* retire, it will be with the respect of the whole community.

CHAPTER XII.

1840-1854.—VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL LABORS.

AFTER the marriage of Mrs. Willard to Dr. Yates, she devoted herself to scientific studies which engrossed her mind, and the result was a treatise on "Respiration and Motive Power," to be subsequently treated in her writings, though this book was not published till 1846. She also, after resigning the direction of the Troy Female Seminary, recommenced her labors in that cause to which her life was devoted. These successive labors I now proceed to show in their chronological order.

The cause of common schools, which seemed to her to be in a neglected condition, first called forth her attention. It seemed to her that there had been a general decadence, not merely in Connecticut, but throughout the country. In this work she had a warm coöperator in Mr. Barnard, who was Superintendent of Schools, under an appointment from the Legislature. He had already inaugurated an extensive system of operations throughout the State. Among other places, he had appointed a festal meeting of the schools at Kensington, a part of Berlin, and Mrs. Willard was invited to give an address. In Mr. Barnard's journal we find the following description of the scene :

"Upon the arrival of the schools at the meeting-house, the music, with the banners, were stationed on the steps,

and the scholars, in procession, entered under the banners, and filled the body of the church. The house was soon crowded, many being in attendance from the neighboring towns; and it was said by the pastor, Rev. Royal Robbins, to have been the largest congregation assembled in the place since his ordination, twenty-two years before. After a report on the present state of the common schools had been read, a piece, by Rev. Mr. Robbins, was sung. The children were then addressed by Jesse Olney, Esq., of Southington. Music followed by a band, and then an address, written for the occasion by Mrs. Willard, was read by Mr. Burritt, followed by other interesting addresses."

The effect of her address was such that she was at once invited, by the leading men of the town, to take the common schools in hand, and was duly elected by the voters of the parish for the office. This was an arduous and thankless office, involving petty vexations, without corresponding encouragement, since the prejudices of the people were hard to overcome. But no difficulties or discouragements ever deterred Mrs. Willard in an object which she deemed good. The following extract from this address, written in the spring of 1840, will show her zeal and spirit:

"Seeing that there was in Kensington a spirit congenial with my own to improve common schools; that this is a section of my native town; and that there are more children of my father's posterity than in any other school-society, I said if Kensington society will feel that I can do them good, and will help me to carry my plans into execution, then I will be willing to take the charge of their common schools for the ensuing season. There are those who advise me against this undertaking, as troublesome and profitless. But such a lion in the gate will not hinder me from entering in. Without some risk and some trouble, whoever did any good? My wish is to know the Lord's

will; and to do His work I consider as a special happiness, because it will take away that clog to my usefulness which those find in benevolent efforts. And, furthermore, to prevent the reproach which some might possibly make that I was indifferent as to involving the society in expenses, I will give a school-tax among you equal to any one of your number, though he should be worth ten times the property that I am."

This must be regarded as a truly disinterested labor—humble though it were in comparison with her responsibilities at Troy. But she was now living in great retirement in Connecticut, sometimes at Berlin, her native town, and sometimes at Hartford, where she had many friends. Her life at this period is marked by studious labors and devout contemplation. At no period of her life was she so religious. Her afflictions had softened her, and she was subdued and gentle. Her only desire was to be useful, even, if necessary, in humble labors, but in congenial pursuits.

The following letter to her daughter, Mrs. J. H. Willard, shows the interest she took in the matter of a normal school at Kensington :

"KENSINGTON, *March 2, 1841.*

"MY DEAR LUCRETIA : . . . I can give you no new intelligence on the normal-school project. There is a very great eagerness on the part of the Kensington people to have me come here. They got up a petition, signed by almost all the people—men and women—and sent it to me. They say what they can do, in a pecuniary point of view, they are willing to do. The women will lend themselves to my views, and organize as I have recommended. Indeed, *that* they are about to do anyhow, and the men are persuading them to it. The children, too, are writing me letters, and begging that I will come and live among them. All this affects my feelings, and I cannot help

thinking that I should be *happier* there than in Hartford. *There*, as in all cities, is an aristocracy, which looks down with a withering and blighting influence upon such enterprise. Here I should be out of the way of it. But all this, you see, is getting up the steam, so that it increases the probability that the normal-school car will go off in pretty good style one of these days. I think the Lord's hand is with me in the thing, and I mean to keep cool and considerate. Do write me, and, if you have any bright thoughts on the subject, put them down.

“Your affectionate mother,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

The following letter to her son, J. H. Willard, refers to a school-celebration in Farmington, on which occasion she prepared a poem :

“HARTFORD, *October 26, 1840.*

“MY DEAR SON : . . . You will have learned, by a paper which I sent Jane, that the Farmington celebration is to be held next week, on Wednesday—later than I expected ; but I have had none too much time for my poem, which has proved a much more serious undertaking than I had imagined. I had to read and make investigations concerning facts which it was not easy to find out ; and my poetical mill will not work without full headway. However, *I think I have succeeded*, though I have not yet completed the work. So think Mr. and Mrs. Davies, to whom I read what I have prepared for transcription last evening. It is to be read by a gentleman whom my friends here recommend as an elegant reader, the Rev. Mr. Andrews, of West Hartford. He spent a part of the afternoon here, and I read it to him. He says he likes the poem ; that there are passages in it of thrilling interest ; and he intends to become so familiar with the whole as to

deliver it without the manuscript. I wish you could come and be present the day (the 4th of November), and accompany Aunt Lee and me home; and yet, unless you have other business, I do not ask it of you. . . .

“Kindest love to all.

“Your affectionate mother,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

For several months Mrs. Willard devoted her time and energies to the four schools of one of the parishes of her native town. Her retired chamber was consecrated to the improvement of children who had no claim on her, and from whom she desired no other reward than the consciousness of being useful. She read no books of amusement, no novels, and no trash. Mr. Fowler has well recorded her life in Kensington :

“On alternate Saturdays came the four teachers, and oftener came a class of nearly twenty, whom she called her normal pupils, to whom she taught history and reading—to a few algebra and geometry.

“She organized a ‘Female Common School Association’ of women of Kensington, with constitution, by-laws, meetings, and effective work. She counselled with the teachers; met them for special instruction at appointed times; gave minute attention to the teaching of the children of the several schools, so that every thing should be done at the right time, and in regular order; she introduced her own methods of discipline and instruction practised at Troy; she selected school-books, established a regular system of marks, and exercised the children most successfully in reading, geography, and arithmetic; made copies for their training in penmanship and drawing; dictated model letters of business and friendship, and accustomed them to compose off-hand compositions, writing on their slates accounts of passing occurrences; and she so taught

them, that mistakes in spelling were rare. She directed what the children should sing all together, and what tunes the older ones should write on their black-boards, dictated to them in musical notation. She composed a song on 'Good Old Kensington,' which was a rejoicing to the children, and to be sung at the examination—and a simple heart-prayer, which they recited at the close of each school, with feeling and solemnity; she sketched model-maps, beginning with the town itself, marking the brooks and bridges, the roads, the church, the school-houses, greatly to the edification of the interested children. She talked of her improvements among the people—the men and the women—in the house and by the way; and thus, by all possible devices, wrought out a genuine enthusiasm in fathers, mothers, and children.

"In all her labors she had the hearty coöperation of Mr. Barnard, who sometimes shared with her the labor of visiting the schools.

"On the 10th of September a public examination of the four schools was held at the church, which was crowded not only with the people of Kensington and the adjacent parishes, but also with distinguished educators of Connecticut and other States. The exercises were continued, with unabated interest, from nine o'clock in the morning to half-past six in the afternoon, with one hour's intermission. The children entered into the full spirit of the occasion, and made it a proud day for their parents and for Mrs. Willard. At the close of the examination, a gentleman of Kensington expressed, in the name of the society, public thanks for her arduous and unselfish labors, and the State Superintendent expressed his satisfaction.

"From Mr. Barnard's report to the Legislature, and in the *School Journal*, the Kensington proceedings were copied and went into other States. Thus much of what was experiment there became common practice in the schools

throughout Connecticut and elsewhere. Mrs. Willard was honored for her gratuitous services in the cause, and received numerous invitations to meet with educational and literary societies and conventions, and to write addresses for those at a distance, which she often did."

After several months' seclusion in Kensington, Mrs. Willard went to Hartford, with the view, it would seem, of organizing an institution for the education of teachers for common schools—a sort of normal school. At first she contemplated locating this school in Berlin, which would probably have been carried into effect but for the abolition of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, and the temporary suspension of Mr. Barnard's labors in Connecticut, upon whose coöperation she relied. The following letter to Miss Hinsdale, a near relative, and long connected with the Troy Seminary, one of the best and most disinterested women that ever walked this earth, and whose modest labors deserve a longer notice, will explain her plans in the year 1841:

"HARTFORD, *February 6, 1841.*

"MY BELOVED FRIEND AND SISTER: Your affectionate letter was received as such a token from such a friend should be. It happened to come in one of my lonely and dark days—for such will sometimes come to us all—and I felt its light and warmth. I have not written much about myself to any one. When I was settled here at first, I found that, in seeing so many persons as I had, and in being so busy, I had broken in upon the good habits and resolutions of my Kensington seclusion, and I was less comfortable in my mind on account of it. But, through the road of humiliation, I endeavored to return, and I have been again permitted to feel that the candle of the Lord is shining upon me. There is a desire manifested by Mr. Barnard, and others, that I should go to the head of a school for teaching teachers for

the common schools, and the proposition has been, this last week, taking some form and shape, though not yet solidity. There is a large brick building, which, when the college here was erected, was made with the expectation that an initiatory school would be needed; it stands in the southwest part of Hartford: that building I am now in treaty for, for I have relinquished that Berlin place, having seen it in the time of the late inundation (by-the-way, that will make John smile). But I will go on with the account of the other place, which I think, according to present appearances, may be my future home—the scene of new labors, which I pray, with faith, that the Lord will bless. The building, with three acres of ground, cost the original builders fifteen thousand dollars; but, failing of their object, it was upon their hands. They then offered it to two societies (the Orphan and Beneficent, the former of which charitably takes care of orphan boys, and the latter, orphan girls), on the condition that they would pay them half the original cost, and finally sold it to them for six thousand seven hundred dollars, as I am told. The orphans, however, do not occupy one-eighth part of the room of the building. If I take a school of young ladies, who are to become teachers of common schools, I want a school of children appended, as a model-school, in which to teach them to teach. These orphans, in number about forty, will constitute such a school. These will not have a set of unreasonable parents to break up our plans. ‘Well,’ you are ready to say, ‘are you going to charge yourself with all this care?’ I have so made up my mind, in the fear of the Lord, if it seems to lie in the way of my duty. On visiting the asylum, and finding who had had the charge of the children, I found a man and his wife, who have been in the charge of them for twelve years, with whom I am much pleased, and who get an excellent character from the society. I want, as I have begun this subject in my letter

to you, that you should show this letter to John. Tell him that, if I take the property, I expect to get it for what it cost the orphan societies. Nor do I suppose they will want the money down, if they can be secured by mortgage on the property, at a six-per-cent. interest. Then, they will pay me for keeping the orphans. To tell just in what position the affair is which has absorbed me for some time past would be impossible, but it is an affair of consequence, in a business point of view. I shall enter into it, I hope, with motives so pure that I can ever pray for a blessing with hope of acceptance. At the same time, we must, in such matters, look on all sides; and, if the affair goes on, it will be necessary that John should come on here, as I shall want the deeds to be drawn to him as my trustee. I might go into this building without owning it, but, *warned by experience*, that I refuse to do. They all say (that is, men of business) that it will be a great bargain, if I get the property at the price named, for Hartford has, within a few years, built up very much in that quarter. Yours ever,
"EMMA WILLARD."

But this plan was not carried out. It would have been eminently useful; and the purchase of this property would have made Mrs. Willard rich, had it been retained to this time. In few cities of the country has there been so large an increase in the value of real estate as in Hartford. But this was not to be.

For a few years after Mrs. Willard's removal from Boston, she travelled extensively, and visited many of her old friends. Her nature was social and sympathetic. She divided her time between Hartford, Berlin, Troy, and Philadelphia, and seems to have had no settled residence. Her letters, at this period, are interesting, but are generally personal, alluding to matters of not much interest to any but personal friends and relatives. They are not free from

complaints and suspicions, but, in general, are considerate, kind, and affectionate. The stamp of an intense truthfulness runs through them all, and resignation to Providence—for her trials were great. Her time was mostly employed upon literary compositions: her mind could not rest. I had the pleasure to meet her at Hartford, in 1843, and well remember her literary labors. She was then cheerful, interesting, and subdued, and she peculiarly called out my respect and sympathy. This was about the time when she obtained her divorce from the Legislature of Connecticut, and she had much to say. She then seemed to me an injured woman; and she gave vent to bursts of indignation. But she was always animated with a religious spirit, and was far from becoming bitter or radical or revolutionary, as many women become under similar provocation. It was obviously a great relief to her to find resources in her own mind and literary labors. Moreover, at this time, she was peculiarly sensitive as to the claims of friendship; and its pleasures were like water in a desert. She was open to reason and arguments, but was not pleased with contradictions without proof. Yet she was not so sensitive as to demand a compliance with her views, whether reasonable or not, as some literary women I have met.

It would seem, from her letters, that her chief causes of disagreement were with publishers—and who can wonder? When this class of people devour authors as sharks devour fishes; when all the interests of authors are unscrupulously sacrificed; when even doubts arise as to common honesty in dealings; when it is suspected that more books are published than are accounted for; when good books are allowed to die in order that worthless trash may live, since trash pleases the generality of readers the most—no wonder that authors are discontented. Mrs. Willard, on the whole, was fortunate with her publishers; but, I cannot say that her best books were the most lucrative. I am

rather inclined to think that those which could be subjected to a searching criticism did not sell as well as those which could not stand this criticism, if any there were. All dealing with publishers is unpleasant to authors, as, I suppose, all dealing with authors is unpleasant to publishers. If publishers are hard, careless, and selfish, authors are apt to be irritable, exacting, and unreasonable. I have seldom met with authors who are satisfied; and, if they submit to what is seemingly unjust, they do so because they are powerless. Authors are completely in the power of publishers in this country, and there are no checks, whatever contracts may bind. The only hope of an author is, to find an honest publisher; and, the only philosophy is, to be contented and give no needless trouble. There are no principles to guide an author in difficulty. A dishonest or unscrupulous publisher will evade the spirit of the law, while he may comply with the letter; nor can unjust dealings be brought to the light. It is certainly a mean thing in a publisher to allow a book he knows is good to languish for lack of effort, after he has promised to push it; nor is there any remedy. Yet it should not be surprising if a sensitive or sanguine author should feel both indignation and annoyance. Most people, who have written books, have had, at times, serious causes of vexation, and Mrs. Willard was no exception, although she was peculiarly fortunate. Book-making, however, should never be resorted to as a business. It is a sort of manufacture which does not pay dividends, unless the article is made to suit a very low and very vulgar taste. A lofty book rarely pays in dollars and cents. The reward of an artist in literature is in the pleasure he has had in his labors, and in the hope of doing good. I pity a learned and cultivated and conscientious author, if he puts much reliance on any adequate pecuniary reward. He must work for the love of it, as Michael Angelo painted pictures. Then, and then only, does reward come—a reward such as

comes from friendship, or patriotism, or any exalted sentiment. Paul preached for nothing, and got his living by making tents. Charles Lamb supported himself as a clerk on his stool in the India House, when he wrote his "Essays of Elia." Milton did not grumble because he received but five or ten pounds for the "Paradise Lost." A venal author should be a contradiction in itself; and, such is the common-sense of the people, that there is not much sympathy for the wailings of men who write for pay—hacks in literature—manufacturers of books rather than creators of precious thoughts—especially those who manufacture to suit a vile taste. It is only a pity that publishers should avail themselves of this fact to give oyster-shells for pay; and it is also a pity that authors should have generally such an exaggerated notion of their own productions that they are willing to put themselves, without remedy, into the hands of those who quietly laugh at, and profit by, their delusion. If there is any thing which demands a radical overhauling on the part of Congress, it is in reference to contracts between authors and publishers. They should not be a dead letter—a formula—a humbug—a delusion—and a disgrace to civilization.

Mrs. Willard spent much time, in 1844, in Philadelphia, whither she went for literary or educational purposes. She contemplated taking a house, and starting an educational journal. The following letter, from her sister, Mrs. Phelps, then living at Ellicott's Mills, where she had a flourishing and lucrative school, will show her views on that point, and I quote them to show what an excellent adviser Mrs. Willard had in her sister, especially in matters which require "worldly wisdom:"

"I could not advise you to buy a house in Philadelphia, without knowing more of your situation than I do, and, as for your periodical, the idea would be very good, provided you could get enterprising publishers, and could rely on

your own physical as well as mental ability to edit the work; but, in a pecuniary point of view, I do not believe such a periodical would be productive. You know how the *Journal of Education* failed; and then the *Annals* died a lingering death. You must not count on making money; but you might benefit the school at Troy, and aid in the business of sending out teachers. The idea of the periodical I should like well on my own account, and might sometimes give you aid. I would send you some of our best compositions—and we have some very good—and, perhaps, something original once in a great while. But I would not like the *School-Mistress*: such a title would suit better some country-school journal. The *Educator*, or the *Educational Intelligencer*, would sound much better to me than your title. *Woman's Mission* would not be bad, but, since the thing is in the dim distance, and may never come, there is no use in taking that name. If Mrs. Hale and Miss Leslie and yourself could write, you might do something popular and useful at the same time; yet, again, there are so many jealousies among literary ladies that you might not get on well, even if you could be agreed enough to begin."

One difference between the two sisters—both remarkable women—perhaps, is this: Mrs. Willard might prefer the word 'teacher,' and Mrs. Phelps the word 'educator.' Mrs. Willard, again, might not be unwilling to embark in an enterprise that did not pay, but I doubt if, in such case, her course would have received a very hearty encouragement from her sister, in whose practical wisdom she felt, and had reason to feel, so great confidence.

Mrs. Willard concluded not to settle in Philadelphia, notwithstanding its literary advantages. She found the libraries of the city, indeed, very convenient. In the preparation of her books, and in the constant revision of them, she had need of larger libraries than any small town

affords. Moreover, in Philadelphia, she had many friends, and was near her publisher, Mr. Barnes, who seems to have done well with her books, so well that she had reason to be satisfied.

After making various visits to her intimate friends and relatives, she returned to Troy, in the summer of 1844, and located herself near her beloved seminary, and her children and grandchildren. It was in Troy that her brightest days had been spent, surrounded with friends who appreciated and honored her, and to Troy she wisely returned. She took a house within the precincts of the seminary, and renewed, with fresh zeal, her literary labors. Her troubles were ended, and her star now shone as bright as ever, free from the harassing labors of a school, with leisure to study, and blessed with friends.

The following letter, to her niece, Mrs. O'Brien, shows the interest she took in her joys and sorrows, and reveals her sympathetic nature :

"TROY, *September 4, 1844.*

"MY DEAR EMMA: It is a long time since I wrote to you, but you know how I was occupied, having the press to tend, and the examination to take care of besides. But the interesting scenes through which you have passed have so occupied your mind that you will not much have missed a letter from me. That little one, which fills your arms, and hangs at your bosom, is no doubt a wonder in your eyes; and he is a wonder—every child is a wonder; a fearful and wonderful thing is its physical, much more its mental, structure. Parents, watching the daily expansion of these structures, feel such a sense of loveliness and excellence as repays them for their toil. There is something in children to keep curiosity ever awake, for every little child is an original, and, as soon as they manifest any intelligence, one loves to watch them, to see what they will do

next. When you write to me, I should like to have you tell me all about your baby. What eyes and hair has he? Is he so considerate as to do up his crying in the daytime, or does he trouble you nights?

"How I wish, my dear Emma, that you were nearer! I should so like to see you at my house, and your little pet, and all the other O'Briens—I beg their pardons for mentioning the young master first, but he is, you know, my blood-relation, my grand-nephew, and a grand fellow I expect he will turn out to be. But you must not follow my example in answering letters, but write to me just how you all are, as soon as you can. I hope you will not drop your pen, and shut up your piano, and make your education of no avail, because you have a child. A little extra resolution is needed to find or make time, but that is all that is necessary. Mrs. John Willard, with five children, performs well the duties of principal of this school."

"You and yours, my dear Emma, are often remembered in my prayers, as I hope to be in yours. My kind and respectful regards to your husband, and his mother and sisters.

"Your most affectionate aunt and friend,

"EMMA WILLARD."

Though no longer officially connected with the Troy Seminary, Mrs. Willard felt all the interest in it of a founder and patron, and made herself useful in various ways, especially in giving gratuitous lectures to the school. In a letter to her intimate friend, Miss Foster, of Washington, Pennsylvania, September 21, 1844, she mentions some facts which are interesting, pertaining to her past labors. She says: "I was engaged in teaching thirty years, and have had under my charge, as nearly as I can calculate, five thousand pupils, of whom as many as one in ten, say five hundred, have been teachers; and, of these teachers, I think more than half have been those whom I educated

without present pay—their bills to be refunded from their earnings.”

It may be a curious matter to inquire what proportion of these ladies refunded the expense to which Mrs. Willard was subjected for their education. So far as my memory serves me, from a conversation with her son, J. H. Willard, not more than two-thirds of these ladies paid for the expenses of their education. So, it would seem, over one hundred and fifty young ladies had been educated by Mrs. Willard gratuitously. Allowing their expenses to have been five hundred dollars each, it would appear that Mrs. Willard had given seventy-five thousand dollars directly to indigent young ladies. This fact, if not strictly accurate, will show what a benefactor this woman has been to her sex, to say nothing of those labors for which she received a pecuniary reward.

Mrs. Willard's life at Troy, after she was settled in her new home, seems to have been tranquil, happy, and without much incident. I find few letters, at this period, of much general interest. Such as she wrote were to family friends, and everybody knows how uninteresting to outsiders are these family letters, unless on special subjects. She seems to have rested, as after a great excitement, contented, serene, and happy.

During this quiet year, she was invited to attend a convention of county superintendents of common schools, at Syracuse, where she was treated with marked respect, as the pioneer in the cause of female education. And this, again, led to similar invitations in various parts of the State—meeting over six hundred teachers. This journey is thus described by herself in a letter to her friend Miss Foster:

“TROY, *December 3, 1845.*

“MY DEAR MISS FOSTER: . . . I have been, since I wrote you last, actively engaged in upholding the great

cause of common-school education. I believe you know that New York has now, by law, a superintendent of common schools in each county. These superintendents met, in April last, at Syracuse, and, about a fortnight previous, I received, from their secretary, a written invitation to attend the convention. I went, and, while there, received a call from the gentlemen in a body, which being notified of a day beforehand, I prepared an address, which I believe I sent to you, as it was published in several of the newspapers, besides the common-school journals. This led the way to my being invited to attend a number of teachers' institutes this fall. I set out the 22d of September, in my own carriage, with sweet Carry Richards for a companion. We went down this side of the Hudson to Fishkill; crossed to Newburg; then went next to Monticello, the capital of Sullivan County, where we were received most gladly. The people there have so listened to my words that the leading men have called on the leading women to take part in the supervision of the schools. A Female Educational Association is formed, and the *men have put funds into their hands*, and they are clothing destitute children, and looking after their comforts after they are placed in the school. This is the work I want to see the educated women of the country come up to. From Monticello we travelled to Binghamton, in Broome County, through a mountainous corner of Pennsylvania. I assisted at a teachers' institute there, and another at Owego, in Tioga County. Then, on my return, I met the teachers of Greene County, at Cairo, and afterward went on the same duty to Rome, in Oneida. I travelled, in the whole, about seven hundred miles, and taught nearly five hundred teachers of both sexes. I wish I had time to tell you something of these institutes. A new era seems dawning on the land in respect to common schools, and with it, I hope, one in which our sex shall be placed in a wider and more impor-

tant and more improving sphere of action, where they will themselves be benefited, aid to prepare a generation of better-trained men and women, and thus, being virtuously employed, will not destroy the nation, as in other cases, but help to preserve it.

“Your affectionate friend,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

The following excellent letter brings out quite fully Mrs. Willard's views in reference to a common-school education :

“TROY, *September 5, 1846.*

“A. W. HOLDEN, Esq., *County Superintendent.*

“SIR: Accept my sincere thanks for the honor done me, by your invitation of the 19th ultimo, to meet with the superintendents and friends of education at Glen's Falls. When your letter reached Troy, I was absent on a tour of the United States, from which having returned so late as day before yesterday, I cannot immediately leave home again. I rejoice in the occasion of your meeting, for my heart is in the cause of education, and that of the common schools is the foundation of the whole. If the great body of children in our country could be well trained *morally*, we should have a *virtuous* population; if well instructed *intellectually*, we should have an *intelligent* people; if they are well educated *physically*, in which the care of the parents is needed as well as the teacher, then they would have the sound body to carry into effect the dictates of the sound mind. And to meet and consult how these objects can be effected is right and wise.

“I regret that I cannot meet with you. While traveling in Ohio, I met a severe injury from the upsetting of a stage. One of my wounds, after apparently healing, broke out afresh; and, though I am in a fair way fully to re-

cover, yet I am under the surgeon's care, and ought to keep as quiet as possible for the present.

"I hope your meeting will prove the happy occasion of kindling a spirit of new zeal. Let me give you *one word* in connection with the subject before you, viz., the means of improving common-school education. That word is *TIME*. This is what is given to make improvement out of the material of which the whole is to be constructed. The teacher's *time*, in most schools, is employed, but in many not judiciously. The *time* of the scholars, in too many cases, is miserably wasted; rows of young creatures are kept sitting on benches, with nothing to occupy either their heads or their hands. In such cases they become listless, and either fall into sly and mischievous ways, or sink into habitual dulness. But, where the school is large, the teacher cannot be at every moment teaching and overlooking every scholar. The teacher's *time* is only one. Let parents consider these truths, and then they will withdraw their prejudices against allowing the teacher to select some of the most suitable of his pupils as assistant-teachers, or otherwise provide competent assistants where schools are large. Where subjects admit of pointers—teaching from maps or charts—the teacher can then call on his whole school to give their attention to what he is teaching, and to repeat together the answers to his questions. To give this advantage in the saving of time was one object of my reducing, to a visible form, the subject of American chronology in the 'American Chronographer,' and the vast theme of universal chronology in the 'Temple of Time.' Geography is taught to whole schools by the pointer from outline maps. Exercises in elocution, spelling, and arithmetic, are given by the master in many schools on the black-board, where large classes may be benefited at the same time by his instruction.

"Time may be saved by making the same exercise an-

swer more than one good end ; and, the more of the proper objects of education are at once attained, the more is made of *time*, that sole material of improvement. Pardon me if I again make an allusion to my own works ; and why should I not—for I have devoted *my time* to such labors as seemed to me best calculated to promote the great cause in which I have spent my life ? But to return to the subject of giving to children such exercises as shall, at the same time, advance their improvement in several material respects. I will mention one exercise which would, at the same time, teach them to read, and to read in a right manner, according to the use of that art ; which will give them the foundation of geography and general information ; which will be calculated to give them right moral and patriotic impressions ; to read other books than those connected with the subject of the improvement of schools. It is seldom that any person can be found whose other avocations will admit of their devoting themselves so exclusively to the work of superintending the schools, whatever their zeal may be. But, I found enough to do to fill all my time, with my five schools. I can see, then, how the county superintendent, who is faithful, must find himself pressed for time to do all that he could wish. But he can do much by making a proper selection among the various objects which solicit his attention. He can encourage talent and faithfulness among teachers, and discourage ignorant pretension. The superintendents can do much in the choice of school-books—those silent teachers—which infuse the minds of their authors into those of the youth who use them. And let me exhort you to see that your children keep honest company. Avoid book-thieves as much as any other. Before any superintendent shall adopt Wilson's History, let him compare it with my abridgment of American History, which he has first falsely aspersed and then pirated it. Both the county and town superin-

tendents in this State have done much for the great cause, by promoting such meetings as the one to which, I flatter myself, this communication will be read. And the teachers' institutes, which have been so profitably held in many counties, would not have existed but for county superintendents. And, since the State organization has been productive of so much good, I hope it may be sustained, and that more, instead of less, time of the educated members of society may be devoted to our common schools. If the men, amid their many occupations, have not more *time* to command, there are educated women who have, and who would be honored, and their minds made more active and comprehensive, by serving under the superintendents on various committees connected with the welfare of the schools. I do not wish women to act out of their sphere; but it is time that modern improvement should reach their case and enlarge their sphere, from the walls of their own houses to the limits of the school district. In the use of the pen, women have entered the arena; and, if we take all the books which are now published, I believe those which well affect the *morals* of society are, the one-half of them, the works of women; but, in the use of the living voice, women are generally considered as being properly restricted to conversation. St. Paul has said they must not speak in churches; but he has nowhere said they must not speak in school-houses. To men is given the duty of providing for children—to women that of applying to their use this provision; and why should not the men and women in school-districts meet together for discussion? When the father and mother of a family talk over its affairs, do no good suggestions come from the mother? Is it not rather to her mind that the good of the children is ever present? But the father must provide the means. Why, then, should not the father and mother meet together, and let each be heard on a subject of the deepest

interest to both, and where the Creator gave to each a part to perform? These suggestions may now sound strange, as they foreshadow a new state of things. But I see it in the future, and rejoice in this harbinger of a brighter moral day than the world has yet seen. And, when the TIME of the women shall be occupied under the auspices of the men, and made by their *means* efficient, then will the whole frame of society be regenerated. Men will be relieved of a burden which, however their conscience may feel, they cannot fully discharge. Women will be honored and elevated, and children will have the full benefit of their mutual and united cares and labors; and the Almighty will smile on a state of society where the indications of His will are regarded and followed out into appropriate action."

Mrs. Willard always had a great esteem for Mrs. Sigourney, and their relations were very pleasant. The following is a letter from that distinguished lady :

"HARTFORD, *January 22, 1846.*

"MY DEAR MRS. WILLARD: Your last letter was truly welcome, and, like yourself, warmly suggestive of good feelings and purposes. I was delighted to learn that your health was good, and that you had been enabled to complete that remarkable journey, to aid the great educational movement and to teach the teachers. It strikes me as rather a unique epoch in the history of woman. Your plan of recording its scenery and results, in the form of letters, is excellent. Address them to me, as you propose. I shall consider it as an honor to wipe the dust from your chariot-wheels as they pass on in the career of benevolence, drawing from obscurity the neglected and the poor, and quickening the zeal of others by your own. But do not put it off too long, nor—what is more frequently the

danger of us female writers—execute it too hastily. Have you seen a work, by the brother of your friend Mrs. Professor Davies, ‘The Rights, Liabilities, and Duties of Women?’ I have liked it much for its historical research, the legal information it has given me, and the desire it displays to elevate the character of our sex. The mother, Mrs. Mansfield, to whom it is dedicated, always struck me as a noble, intellectual woman.

“I am much pleased that you are so delightfully situated, enjoying, in your tasteful mansion, the society of those sweet young ladies, who will, in return, receive so much benefit from yours. Present me affectionately to them, and say that I doubt not they realize the privilege of being with one whose benefactions to her sex will be more fully appreciated in a future age, as is often the case with the wisest and best.

“You have, doubtless, seen the volumes on Greece by Professor Perdicaris. He accords to you and the ladies of Troy deserved praise for your leading agency in founding the schools at Athens. I am right glad to hear of the prosperity of the Troy Female Seminary. Since my visit there, I have associated it much with my thoughts, as we do the welfare of a friend. I once made a request to your daughter, in a note, I think, from Schenectady last summer, which she probably has forgotten, and I therefore repeat, viz., that a brief sketch of that institution from its establishment, but especially its present state, number of pupils, order of studies, discipline, even the minute interior arrangements, which so eminently promote their domestic comfort, might be written for me. I thought it would not be an improper subject for the regular composition of one of the young ladies, and I should like to be permitted to make use of selections from it for my volume of ‘Scenes in our Native Land,’ should it come to a second edition. Of this last event there is, however, no immediate prospect,

so that the statement might be prepared at perfect leisure. Remember me particularly to your son and daughter. I love them for the good they are doing, as well as for their kindness to me. My health is better than when I was at their hospitable mansion. I thank you for your friendly invitation to visit you ; and, should Providence ever put it in my power, should be happy to accept it. Since my illness, six months since, I have not passed the limits of the city, and begin to feel that the best place for me is my 'ain hearth-stane.' Mr. Sigourney and Mary are well, and also our efficient assistants, Miss Albro and Ann ; and, with the best wishes for your health and happiness, I am sincerely and affectionately your friend,

“L. H. SIGOURNEY.”

In the spring of 1846 Mrs. Willard, in company with her favorite niece, Miss Jane Lincoln, whom she had educated, and whose great musical proficiency made her very useful as a teacher in the Troy Seminary for many years, and who now lived altogether with Mrs. Willard in her beautiful home, set out on a tour through the Western and Southern States. I regret that I can find so few letters pertaining to this interesting journey of eight thousand miles. She visited all the principal cities of the South and West, especially those where her former pupils had settled as teachers, and was by them received everywhere with peculiar affection and esteem.

The year 1849 seems to have been uneventful, Mrs. Willard being quietly employed in literary labor and in correspondence with various friends. Her time was mostly spent at her own house in Troy, dispensing an agreeable hospitality. I remember very well her pleasant life at this period, having spent myself most of the summer in Troy. It was a life of pure literary labor, united with great social enjoyments. She wrote, this year, many letters to various persons, but chiefly of a personal nature.

In the summer of 1848 Mrs. Willard experienced a great affliction in the death of her grandson, a fine boy, who was accidentally drowned in the Hudson, while bathing. I find numerous letters to her, expressive of condolence and sympathy, in this sore trial, which had a marked influence upon her, for she felt the blow severely.

Her time was much occupied this year in preparing her "Temple of Time." The following letter to her friend Miss Foster is the best record I have found of her labors at this period :

"PHILADELPHIA, November 5, 1848.

"MY DEAR FRIEND : . . . I am very busy, indeed. Just now I am writing, but have nearly finished, a small work, with the title 'Universal History taught by the Eye ; or, Guide to the Temple of Time.' Last winter we began teaching history with the 'Temple.' I began by a short course of lectures, and Miss Dellaye continued with a class, which she brought forward to examination. It went *even better than* I expected, and appeared so well at the examination, and excited so much enthusiasm among the teachers, that other schools, wishing to introduce it, the teachers applied to me for instructions, and forthwith I set about a little book to contain them. The youngest child is apt to be a favorite ; but I do now think that I shall produce, in my whole scheme of teaching history, one of the greatest aids in education which the human mind has at any one time received. Sister is so convinced of it that she is going to have all her school instructed according to the plan, as soon as she can get the little book. This supposes that each of the class shall have an unpainted copy of the 'Temple of Time,' and study it by the book as a map, while the teacher is to have two hanging painted ones—painted differently—to represent different things. Then I can take up the subject of history by topics (time

being learned by the 'Temple'), as we can those of geography, after place is learned by the maps. Perhaps you do not know that I was the introducer of that method of teaching geography. But that was little compared with what I have done and am doing for history. Maps were invented, and I had but to turn attention to them, and then to rearrange the subject of geography to suit the new way of teaching; but in history I have invented the map.

"I expect to teach the entire school at Troy when my books are done and I go home. Here I am to go through a course of four weeks' teaching in the school of Miss Helen Phelps, and to take a class of young ladies with her pupils. This I engaged to do before I was aware that I was to have my plan so extensively called for as it has already been. I would not have so engaged had I known it (that is between you and I); but, having engaged, I will fulfil, though it be to my own hinderance. I want Miss Phelps to succeed, for the Philadelphians have long had a parcel of miserable French schools; and, now that some good teaching is to be done, I want them to give their attention long enough to see the difference. But of my plan of teaching history, which I fully believe will be a great and permanent improvement in education, I wished to make a demonstration. *That*, I think, I shall do. I do not wish to sink my professional character. I much prefer to be called a teacher rather than a lady-loafer.

"Make my respects to Mr. Hanna—I am not quite sure of the spelling of the name, and have not your last letter by me. My kind love, too, to Pauline and the other McKennen, and especially to Mrs. Lawrence.

"I am going to spend a fortnight or three weeks at Reading. I hope you will write me within that time. If so, address your letter to the care of Denis O'Brien, Esq. Jenny Lincoln desires much love, respects, and congratulations.

Your ever-affectionate friend,

"EMMA WILLARD."

Mrs. Willard, in the year 1849, was busily engaged on her work on "Respiration," and in making efforts to secure the adoption of her "Temple of Time." It was the year that this country was visited by the Asiatic cholera, which disease first suggested to Mrs. Willard her views on respiration.

The subsequent years, until her second visit to Europe, are uneventful, her time being divided between literary labor, friendly correspondence, efforts to secure the circulation of her books, and occasional journeyings. The following letter, to Senator Benton, pertains to her "History of California:"

"TROY, *January 7, 1850.*

"HON. THOMAS H. BENTON.

"DEAR SIR: Accept my grateful acknowledgments for your generous favor of four bound volumes, with accompanying maps, charts, etc., and for the still greater favor of your interesting and gratifying letter. Fremont's journal and his trial I read attentively, making a synopsis of their contents while I was collecting materials for my history. The journal of Captain Johnson I shall read in the same manner, when I engage in a revision of the history; then your letter will also be useful to me, as would any further remarks you might find time to make.

"You do me the honor to believe (and I will say the justice) that, having formed independent opinions from the facts within my knowledge, I have written them intelligibly, *and have fearlessly published them.* That you, sir, whom all know to possess these characters of mind, have thus understood me, gives me a gratification that one, who *is* understood by the world he lives in, knows not how to appreciate. All that I have done in the department of history has been done in the same spirit. May I be allowed to add that, what I have done in other departments, has also been done in the same spirit? I am

desirous that you should find a little time to bring down your powerful, clear, and far-seeing mental optics on that theory of the motive powers of the blood's circulation, which is set forth in my pamphlet on 'Respiration,' which I had the honor to forward to you, and which gives hopes of greater security against Asiatic cholera than has been heretofore enjoyed. I drew in patriotism from my mother's breast and on my father's knee; and I recollect being kept awake nights, while I was yet so small a child as to sleep in a little bed beside my parents, by anxious fears lest some great predicted calamity was just about to befall my country; and I never knew the time when the croakers lacked one to predict. If you will turn to page 292 of the 'History of the Republic,' which I have the honor to send you, you will find the independent working of the same mind which has wrought out the history and character of Fremont as far as it is yet developed. At the time of that voting for Jefferson and Burr, I was a few days past fourteen. My friends were strong Republicans, but *my* feeling was for my country, and I was filled with indignation (precisely as expressed) with both the political parties. For nearly fifty years, then, I have thus watched my country's prosperity, and for about twenty-five years have been engaged in writing out her history as it *made*; not so much for its minutiae, perhaps, as in grand outline. Yet it is often minute things in which great results arise, and which then require to be explicitly and circumstantially stated.

"These remarks, though egotistic, are intended to introduce something which I wish to call your attention to; and, for mentioning which, I want you, sir, to give me credit for patriotism, and nothing else. I feel uneasy about the Mormons getting possession of such a central and important part of the country. There is, it seems to me, a spirit of false liberality out, which fails to see the real danger that may accrue from allowing that people to

organize a State with their *peculiar institutions*; which, from what I have been able to learn concerning them, are far more dangerous than slavery; and I feel the more on this subject as the progress of the sect involves, as I have reason to believe, the degradation of my own sex; and, if of my sex, certainly the deterioration of the whole of society. Are they to be allowed to set aside, by their laws, the sanctity of marriage? Are they to have a secret system of religious observances, which shall give their rulers power to make a right and wrong, different from the common law of the land, and that given by God in divine revelation? The time to consider these questions, it seems to me, is now; and I hope the national legislature will have wisdom given them to act righteously and fearlessly. For one thing, I hope they will not allow the poor, mean word *Deseret* to become the name of a State. If English, it suggests the lone waste of a desert. Its sound—three close words in succession—is just about that of the Scripture name Jephunah, which, I think, no father in these days would choose for his child. The aboriginal name, reckoning by the name given to the natives, might have been Utah—a far better word. Combine that spelling with ‘Eutaw,’ and make it Eutah, and there would be an interesting and honorable association. Very possibly a still better word may be found, but that will not, I am sure, be Deseret. It appears to me that the men of this nation were at one time ultra in their notions of liberality in regard to religion, but have now become sensible of their own error. A nation cannot exist without religion. France tried that, and failed. We were born a *Protestant Christian* nation, and, *as such*, baptized in blood. Our position ought to be considered to be defined as that. If we tolerate others, that is enough. We should not allow them to form governments or exercise political powers on any other basis. If they want to do this, let them go elsewhere. The

Mormons, it seems to me, should be held up to this rule; and, in doing this, we shall teach the Catholics a lesson. What they are, in respect to their true designs, their operations in Italy and France may show; and, while they derive large sums of money from Austria for their operations in this country, they should be watched and feared. While our statesmen are wasting their energies in neutralizing each other's influence, the Jesuits are united all over the world, and are silently and steadily working, with the hope that they shall fix a slavery upon us all, worse than that of the Southern negroes—a slavery whose irons enter the soul. They do not wish their numbers and increase to be known, because they want, for the present, to grow in silence. But we hope the God of our fathers will continue to be ours.

“Your views concerning the great central railroad I regard not only as just, but of the utmost importance. But for this connecting link, which now, in imagination, holds them to their native land, I think there is great reason to apprehend that California and Oregon would soon unite and form a separate nation, which would be unfortunate for us all. Our consequence with other powers would be diminished, our national glory and prosperity would retrograde, and our power to advance the civilization and political liberty of the world would be cut short, and an example thus set to other parts of the Union, which might prove our final destruction as a great nation. Persia, with her wealth and armed millions, could not destroy Greece, poor but united; Greece, grown wealthy, destroyed herself, when divided, by the Peloponnesian War. Pardon me, sir, if I grow tedious, and permit me, in closing, to offer you my best wishes for the coming and future years, and may the Lord perfect that which concerns you, especially wherein connected with the destinies of our country!

“With great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

“EMMA WILLARD.”

It is natural, with advancing years, to take interest in our ancestors. Mrs. Willard was a descendant of one of the most illustrious of the founders of Connecticut, and the following letter to Rev. Mr. Hooker is interesting in connection with her family history :

“TROY, *March* 1, 1852.

“REV. E. W. HOOKER.

“DEAR SIR: Accept my hearty thanks for your letter, and also for your most acceptable present of your valuable work on the life and writings of our common ancestor, Thomas Hooker. Within the last thirty years the American mind is manifesting a growing estimation of ancestry. The injunction of the fifth commandment, should it, as it glances back, stop at *immediate* progenitors? The second commandment, and many other passages in the Old Testament, show that God’s judgments and mercies both descend according to the character of the ancestor; and we know that, in the order of God’s providence, so it must be. Were this world our only home, its honors the only rewards of the righteous, it might be regarded as a hard case that a good man should suffer any obloquy from an infamous ancestor; yet, when it is considered that honor and dishonor, as well as wealth and poverty, are to try and to prove us, and that the greatest mark of God’s favor, as to situation in this world, is to be placed in that most favorable to the attainment of *eternal* life, we then become more satisfied with His allotments. Nothing can be more calculated to keep parents in the ways of righteousness than the belief that so they will bring down blessings on their posterity. These being my views, I feel that we, who are the posterity of that great man, the founder of a State, second to none as a projector of that first confederacy which was the germ of our mighty Union, and as the author of that church polity which so extensively pre-

vails throughout it—I feel that we owe to him, in addition to that reverence which belongs to every American, a debt peculiar to ourselves; and I think it would be right that we should appoint a meeting in honor of his memory. And I think, also, that it would be wise; for, when we consider his great virtues, piety, knowledge, and good works, it will make us at the same time humble, and desirous of becoming more worthy to be his descendants. Should we have a meeting, Hartford, of which he was the founder, and where he lies buried, would be the appropriate place; and the 7th of July, which was the anniversary both of his birth and death, would be the suitable day of the year. Perhaps *an inconvenient* time of meeting. If so, another might be substituted. I have conversed on the subject with the Rev. Horace Hooker, of Hartford, and he expressed a wish that I would address you. Such meetings promote good feeling. The essence of the Gospel is love, and it is a pity to miss any of the concentric circles by which its wave flows out from the nearest tie through remoter kindred, friends, and country, until it reaches the farthest confines of humanity. Such a meeting would, I cannot doubt, afford an occasion by which a fund might be raised to effect the desirable object of the publication of Mr. Hooker's works, to which your letter alludes. It does not appear to me that any one will be likely to engage in it as a matter of business, but that many, especially among Mr. Hooker's descendants, will, as a means of doing good, and of personal improvement and gratification. In this way I would give what should appear to be my proportion.

“I believe I have heard you—it was a Mr. Hooker—preach a sermon in Bennington, shortly after the Burehard excitement. It was a sermon, to my mind, worthy of the name and deed of Hooker.

“Pardon my delay in replying to your letter. I was in

Washington when it arrived, and expected home weeks before I came. Hence your letter was detained in Troy.

“With gratitude and high respect, your friend and kinswoman,

(Signed)

“EMMA WILLARD.”

The following is a letter from a great statesman, in reference to her literary and educational labors :

“WASHINGTON, *March* 14, 1852.

“MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

“MY DEAR MADAM: I have received your letter, but am very sorry that my feeble state of health is such that I cannot treat its topics as they deserve. I can only briefly write to you, and that, as you will perceive, not with my own hand, but with the pen of a friend. I most cordially wish you all success in your noble enterprise of placing female education upon a solid and firm basis. I have long thought that, with two great provisions in respect to your sex, the soundness, intelligence, and safety, of human society would be perfectly secure. The first is that of giving to your sex the most thorough education, such as is best adapted to that sphere of action which Nature has marked out for it. The other provision is to secure to the wife, according to the Roman law, her dotal property, and one-half of the mutual acquisitions made during the existence of marriage. I have not time, dear madam, to enlarge upon these two interesting subjects, but must conclude by assuring you of my perfect concurrence with you in your high estimate of the character of Lafayette. I beg your acceptance of my acknowledgments of the flattering and friendly sentiments toward me which you do me the honor to entertain.

“I am, with the highest respect, your friend and obedient servant,

“H. CLAY.”

Thus, serenely and happily, did Mrs. Willard live, receiving friendly letters from distinguished scholars and statesmen, devoting herself to education in its general aspects, but especially absorbed in historical composition. It was a life of dignity and usefulness, of contentment and serenity, respected by all who knew her, though not marked by those incidents which furnish rich material for biographical notices. In 1854 she again crossed the ocean, and her second visit to Europe will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

1854-1860.—SECOND VISIT TO EUROPE, AND LITERARY LABORS.

MRS. WILLARD, like most people who have visited Europe, had a strong desire to revisit scenes of so much interest. She particularly desired to attend the World's Educational Convention, which was to be held in London during the summer of 1854. Still, the desired visit was attended with great difficulties. She was sixty-nine years of age, and she could not go alone. Her son was preoccupied with the engrossing duties of the seminary. She must have a companion. So she selected her niece, Jane Lincoln, who had lived with her a considerable part of her life, whom she had educated, and to whom she was devotedly attached. But Mrs. Phelps was naturally unwilling to part with her daughter. After great importunities, the consent of Mrs. Phelps was finally obtained, and Mrs. Willard, accompanied by her niece, sailed in the Pacific, Captain Nye, June 24th, for Liverpool. She arrived, without any thing particularly interesting to chronicle, on July 6th, and proceeded at once to London, where she was warmly welcomed by Mr. Barnard, and was by him introduced to many who were eminent in the cause of education, and attended, with him, their most interesting meetings. She brought with her her own educational works, which she distributed to distinguished men.

Unfortunately, I find no letters written by her during this visit to her numerous friends. From her diary, it would seem that she was well received by Mr. Buchanan, minister to London, and by many men of rank, including Sir John Herschel. She visited, once again, the various objects of interest in London, not surpassed, on the whole, I think, by those of any city in the world, but which are strangely neglected by American travellers for objects of less interest on the Continent. She attended the lectures of Dr. Arnott, to whom she was introduced, and by whom she was kindly received, and who paid her marked attentions. Lady Ouseley procured her a peeress's ticket to the House of Lords. Windsor, Oxford, Hampton Court, Greenwich Hospital, the Bank, the Zoological Gardens, the Sydenham Palace, the British Museum, the cathedral and abbey churches, the Foundling Hospital, the galleries of art, and private collections of paintings, were seen at leisure, and under great advantages.

She then, after the convention, proceeded on a tour to various towns and cities in England, and went to Liverpool to meet her sister, Mrs. Phelps, with her son and daughter, who joined her in August, and then the whole party returned to London. On the 9th of September they proceeded together to Paris, made a brief sojourn, and then travelled together to the Rhine, through Switzerland, Germany, and a part of Italy; again returned to Paris about the middle of October, where she was warmly and affectionately welcomed by her old friends and coadjutors in education, Madame Belloc and Mademoiselle Montgolfier, with whom she had corresponded since 1831. After spending a few weeks in Paris, during which its varied attractions were visited, the party returned to England, and sailed on the 15th of November from Liverpool, and arrived in New York on the 25th, after a pleasant and prosperous voyage. At the Astor House there was a

happy reunion with her friends and relatives. Such, in brief, was this second visit—very pleasant, very instructive, but not with the enthusiasm of the first. What can be done twice in this world with added interest, especially in the decline of life? And a great change had taken place since 1830 in the travelling world. No longer was it a rare thing to visit Europe. Letters from Europe lost their charm in the multitude of tourists. But, if one's experiences abroad are no longer interesting to the public, they have the same value to travellers themselves. A person enjoys as much to-day in a visit to Europe as he enjoyed forty years ago. London is the same great and mighty capital. Paris is still the seat of fashion and pleasure. Palaces and churches are still imposing in their mediæval grandeur. Museums and galleries of art still furnish the same subjects of study and pleasure. The mountains of Switzerland are as sublime and grand as they were one hundred or one thousand years ago. Italy never can be exhausted. Germany still glories in varied objects of interest. The parks of London are as green as ever; the fields of England are as beautiful as ever; the mountains and lakes of Scotland as picturesque as ever; the shops of great cities still glitter with envied glories. Nothing has passed away in Europe which interested the last generation. There is even an increase in material wonders. Moreover, facilities for travel are vastly increased; the hotels are improved; works of art and libraries are more accessible. Any cultivated person can enjoy a trip to Europe as much to-day as at any previous period for one hundred years. Nor is the pleasure diminished because others enjoy it likewise. More can be seen with advantage now in four months than could have been seen in a year a generation ago, and with infinitely less discomfort. The crossing of the ocean is reduced to a certainty, in ten days or less; and the railroad will enable the trav-

eller to cross the principal kingdoms of Europe in half the time that one can cross the ocean; while the telegraph will transmit important news to our anxious friends at home with the rapidity of thought itself. Instead of wondering why so many people visit the Old World, the wonder really is why so few avail themselves of so great a pleasure. Instead of being contented with one visit, I marvel why people of means content themselves with less than a dozen in the course of their lives. No one, who is not too old to travel in America, is too old to visit Europe. The voyage, the healthy excitement of new scenes, the change of climate, the freedom from care, and the pleasant acquaintances one makes, give a new lease of life to our jaded and care-worn citizens, and instruction and knowledge to those who are young.

On her return from Europe Mrs. Willard renewed, with fresh ardor, her literary labors, and lived quietly at Troy, in her own pleasant home, receiving visits from friends, and making visits in return. Time passed rapidly along, as it ever does, toward the end of the journey of life, like all other journeys. In 1855 she was called to suffer a great affliction in the accidental death of her niece, Jane Lincoln, whom she loved as a daughter. She was killed by a railroad disaster near Burlington, New Jersey, August 29th. In all respects she was one of the loveliest characters I ever knew, and her death made a profound impression on Mrs. Willard, who never fully rallied from the shock.

In a letter to her sister, a few days before the fatal accident, she thus speaks: "In Jenny's" (Jane's) "performing the religious service of the school and family" (Mrs. Phelps's institution at Ellicott's Mills), "she has done the most embarrassing thing which she could be required to do. Yet it is astonishing with what ease she performed all her requisite duties. And especially, in the great affair of music,

what a difference between her and us! Then, in our authorship, she has gone with you in your botany and with me in my history; and she knows what teaching is and what governing a school is." Mrs. Sigourney thus writes to her: "How much has my heart been with you in this terrific affliction which has befallen you and your sister! I mourn with you the loss, to earth, of that lovely and accomplished being, whose noble character you have done so much to form and beautify." To her own sister, Mrs. Phelps, Mrs. Willard writes: "Let the Great Refiner keep us in the furnace until, by the powerful processes His wisdom appoints, we may at last reflect His image, and be fitted to show forth His glory." To her niece, Mrs. Emma O'Brien, she writes: "I have this morning, for the first time, had courage to read that precious last letter of our dear Jane—that last writing traced by her hand—that hand so skilful was the outward instrument of an inner soul fraught with beauty and harmony. Think what that hand has done, and what it was capable of doing! Often, while she was with me, have I thought of the worth of that right hand, and what she would lose if aught should deprive her of its use, little thinking that we should be deprived of it and her. But the beautiful characters it traced were but the archetypes in her beautiful mind—the pure, the highly-intelligent, the loving thoughts conveyed were the mind itself. The exquisite music with such wonderful facility that hand made audible, whether with the piano, the organ, or the guitar—that music existed in her own harmonious soul, and the hand was but the living as the instruments were the dead servants which obeyed her will. That hand shall decay, and the matter which composed it pass into various new compounds of material things, but not one particle of it shall be wasted. The precious soul cannot be decomposed. It is one and indivisible, and Christ has bought it—He whom she loved to

confess, and whom her gifted hand and voice best loved to praise."

I think this is one of the most beautiful and poetic letters Mrs. Willard ever wrote. But the occasion was worthy of it. A beautiful biographical sketch was prepared to commemorate her virtues. Says Mrs. Willard to her sister Mrs. Phelps: "Fully impressed with the belief of the uncommon excellences and accomplishments of Jane, I wanted others to know them as I did, and that was one great reason why I wished her to go to the head of the institution, if you left it. But God has spared her both the trial and the temptation and yet the world has found her out, and has valued her for what we ourselves esteemed. This ought to be a great comfort; and her perfect model character may be regarded with such partiality and so followed that she may still be teaching and doing good, though her body sleeps in profound repose, and her spirit is happy with Him who gave it. Let our hearts be more knit together by this sacred sorrow, and let our united aspirations be for more holiness of heart and life—for the better enjoyment of a sacred nearness to God. For myself I conclude, since God has spared me, He has something yet for me to do, and my wish is and my mind is to do it." Many more beautiful letters could be adduced to show the deep affection which Mrs. Willard had for her beloved niece, and the Christian fortitude with which she bore the loss, but our limits forbid.

It may, however, be well to quote part of a letter written to Mr. Tibbets, of Troy, in 1856, in reference to the erection of the beautiful spire of St. John's Church, which is one of the ornaments of the city: "You ask me how the money is to be obtained for the building of the spire. Alas! it is the price of the life of one as dear to me as my heart's blood. Last summer she" (Jane Lincoln) "was with us, and helped us in carpeting the church. She stood by

your table that proudest day which St. John's Church has ever seen, when our beautiful edifice was consecrated, and your elegant mansion was thrown open to the two bishops and nearly thirty clergy who were with us. Dear Jane had been with us through all our days of humiliation; and, in heat and cold, rain and snow, with her delightful skill in music, had she played the solemn strains of the sanctuary on that old organ, now so beautifully replaced by the liberality of your wife. When her priceless life was lost, my sister at first shrank from prosecuting, as she was told she ought, the railroad company; but, urged by others, and considering it was the only way to punish a criminal carelessness of human life, she brought her suit. Referees have decided to give her four thousand dollars. I wrote her if she would give half of it to erect our spire, I would, on my part, procure a monumental tablet to Jane, of the most beautiful workmanship."

I need not add that this was done, and that the beautiful spire of the church is the monument to the memory of one of the most devoted Christians who ever worshipped in the church. Instead of a tablet, Mrs. Willard contributed nearly four hundred dollars toward the spire itself. I here may add that St. John's Church, for a long time, was an humble building, and that the expenses of the church were defrayed, in a great measure, through the efforts of Mrs. Willard and her family. It was the church which the larger part of the seminary pupils attended; and its ministers were ever her friends, and she was theirs. Her diary, for many years, records the sermons which she heard within its walls. It was her habit, at all periods of her life when she kept a diary, to comment on the sermons which she heard on Sunday; and it was very seldom that she was prevented from attending church. It was one of the duties which she ever most conscientiously discharged, at home or abroad; and it was not merely a duty, it was one of

the great pleasures of her life. I cannot say that she was easily satisfied. She required something more than a ritualistic service; and a sermon, if it was dull or lifeless, generally provoked comment. If she was free to express her dislike, she was equally demonstrative in the expression of her admiration. She demanded instruction as well as propriety in worship. Nor was her admiration called out by mere lectures which appealed to the intellect alone. She was not content unless she heard some clear and impressive elucidation of some cardinal and fundamental truth of Christianity, especially some truth closely connected with the salvation of the soul through Christ. Her letters show a devout and consistent Christian character. An infidel was her abhorrence; and she classed among infidels those who sought to undermine the divine authority of the Scriptures—those who denied inspiration, and miracles, and a supernatural power, and a personal God, and the Messiah as redeemer and deliverer from sin by His sufferings and death. The advocacy of a mere moral life, in external observances, had no more force with her than the doctrines of the old pagan philosophers, lofty as many of these are. Christianity with her was more than a philosophy, more than a system of ethics. As an Episcopalian, she belonged to the Low rather than the High Church, but was not a bigot to either, and enjoyed all its forms when pervaded with the peculiar spirit of evangelical piety.

From the death of her beloved niece and adopted daughter, Jane Lincoln, until our political troubles began with the South, Mrs. Willard was very busy in revising her histories, and in various literary labors. She also, at this time, had a very extensive correspondence. At no previous period of her life was her mind more active or her sympathies more generous, taking great interest in young people, in the seminary, and in her friends. Her friendships were never warmer than at this time; and these, in

no small degree, contributed to the cheerfulness of temper for which she was characterized, and to those interesting qualities which do not always shine with advancing years. One of the most beautiful sights in this world is an interesting old man or woman, and this rarely is seen among those who have led a career of absorbing pleasure-seeking, or money-making, or an idle life. How cold, or cynical, or sordid, or unimpressible, are most old people! Why should age and experience destroy what is most lovely in character? This ought not to be. Yet, if a man has made money his idol, he is pretty sure to be mean and calculating and hard in his declining years. Whatever form of idolatry a person may have worshipped, this object becomes a tyrant, and the victim becomes a slave, and the finer sentiments of the soul are hopelessly crushed out; nothing but a wreck remains of perhaps an originally noble character. What is a man or woman without faith, without sympathy, without enthusiasm, without interest in noble movements, bound up within a narrow circle, generous only to his own children, unmoved by grand appeals? If rich and selfish, sordid and cold, he merits the rebuke which an old clergyman gave to a millionaire who refused to contribute to a pressing object of charity: "You are old; you soon must die; and what will you do with your money? You can't carry it with you; and, if you could, it would melt!"

Now, Mrs. Willard, from sixty to eighty years of age, grew every day more affectionate, more gentle, more generous, more tolerant, more sympathetic, and more religious. Her countenance was mild, expressive, and benignant. Young people loved her, and she loved them. If she fought her battles over again in genial conversation, it was but a slight defect in her interesting and benevolent character. Many were her neighbors who descended to the grave unhonored and unlamented, steeped more and

more in the heartless egotism of engrossing selfishness, which made them objects of aversion and of pity. But she retained the respect of her old friends, and grew in the graces of a Christian as she grew in years, with bright hopes of the future, which made her cheerful and companionable. Blessed is a serene and beautiful old age ! It is as rare as it is lovely. I never knew an old age more dignified or more interesting than hers. It is a great thing to be interesting at any period of life. This is more than beauty or intellect. When a person is really interesting, we forget all defects ; even as to be interesting implies a combination of great qualities both of mind and heart. The peculiar fascination of Madame Récamier and Madame du Deffand, in their old age, was that they were interesting, which could not have been were they not unselfish, and amiable, and bright, and intelligent. Mrs. Willard never pursued any pleasure as an end, only as a means. She was incessantly occupied as long as there remained strength to work. It was this occupation of her mind on ennobling pursuits, from the earliest period, and the subordination of all selfish interests to benevolent purposes, which doubtless gave radiance to her declining years. She was never dull, or preoccupied, or insensible to grand sentiments or affectionate attractions. She was as witty and cheerful and companionable at seventy as she was at forty.

In these latter years she made the acquaintance of Mrs. Celia Burr, who became her companion and secretary until she married Mr. Burleigh, well known in antislavery movements. Her correspondence with this lady is very extensive, to whom she seems to have been much attached, without being affected by her extreme radical opinions, especially such as are called "women's rights."

Another of her friends was Mrs. Richards, and they exchanged loving and confidential letters for more than half a century. A volume might be compiled of letters to this

estimable lady, as well as to Miss Emily Mason, of Virginia; Mrs. Gilmer, of North Carolina; Miss Dobson, of England; Madame Belloc, of France; Miss Whittlesy, of Berlin; and Mrs. Smith, of Glastonbury—friends of half a century; Mrs. Sigourney, of Hartford, with whom her relations were very friendly and affectionate; her nieces, Mrs. O'Brien, of Philadelphia, and Miss Myra Phelps, of Baltimore; her nephew, Judge Willard, of Saratoga; and especially her sister, Mrs. Lincoln Phelps; all of whom she seemed to have loved with rare tenderness and with increasing affection as the years rolled on. But all these letters are so replete with family matters and incidents of daily life, such as visits and domestic duties, that they would not be of much interest to the general reader, and do not shed any peculiar light on her character. There are many letters from the late Mrs. Sigourney, which I should like to quote if they had more genius. Sensible, proper, sympathetic, kind, they are all, but commonplace, like the poetry of this most estimable lady. I find no letters equal to her own in naturalness, descriptive power, poetic force, or elevated sentiments. In a letter to her sister, Mrs. Phelps, she thus describes her visit to the Catskill Mountains: "The view, when we arrived at the Mountain House, was somewhat obscure; but, at four o'clock next morning, we were all on the piazza, and what a grand scene lay before us, reminding me of Kane's description of the arctic regions! The clouds beneath us shut out all prospect of land, save here and there the top of a mountain, which rose like an island amid the snows, the fallen pines rising and casting, as the sun was coming nearer, their long shadows over the waste. Then appeared gleams of the struggling sunlight, lighting up, by degrees, the western clouds above us; while those from beneath us appeared in motion, curling upward like moving snow-wreaths, and even parting in many places, to show the

extended and brilliant landscape, fresh with the recent showers. At length the sun had the full mastery of the gorgeous clouds, and the whole valley of the Hudson was spread out below. Then we went to breakfast; and, when we returned, a change had come over the scene, and it now presented the most sublime appearance I ever saw. One grand cloud, dark and defined, spread out as a curtain, depending from the upper circle of the heavens, covering all the heaven and earth from our view, while beneath it appeared portions of the sunlit landscape. It was then as if we saw them beneath us and beyond this grand curtain." Mrs. Willard was seventy years of age when she wrote this description. How few ladies, at this age, would enjoy climbing mountains! But she was even then strong and healthy, if she had lost those good looks which made such an impression on Madame Belloc, in 1830: "Ah, oui, elle était bien belle."

The following letter to her friend Mrs. Mary Smith, in 1859, shows the general spirit which seemed to animate her:

"MY DEAR MARY: You, who are so considerate, and know so well how many things I have to take up my time, will not think hard that I have not sooner written to you. How delightful will be that world where love will be so perfect that it wholly casts out fear—for the nearer that point is reached in our earthly loves, the more happiness and the less trouble does our love give us! Now you and I, dear Mary, are certainly near that point. We know, on both sides, that if there are no letters, it is not because there is no love, but perhaps the reverse, or that circumstances forbid.

"The Lord has been on our side, and hath made my ministry of avail. The piece I wrote in the papers to get the plan in favor with the people; the name I gave, 'Day-

Home,' seemed to take with both high and low; and even the children, with their noisy plaudits, have given me satisfaction. How pleasant is the thought that the Lord has used us as instruments of good!"

And again: "Most truly do I sympathize with your troubles. But you must not let them overwhelm you. Your Father directs, and works all for your good. Be calm and benignant, forgiving others, as God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven you. It will thus be an occasion to you to show forth the glory of God, by manifesting how a Christian can submit to God."

How sensible and kind is the following letter to a young lady who, she feared, was disposed to trifle with the affections of men:

"You have had attention enough to make you vain and spoil you, but I do not think it does, and I do not fear it ever will, since your mind is too much and too often engaged in thinking of God and religious things. But be careful lest the potency of your charms should prove the undoing of some of your most sensitive admirers. And now, I dare say, it seems ridiculous; and so it would be if a young lady were to suppose that she must be on the lookout for fear she should knock over some unfortunate suitor by a sudden passion. I do not much believe in such catastrophes; but you are older now, and can better understand the signs of a growing passion, and better know how, without giving offence, by a manner perhaps more formally polite, you may crush it in the bud when you do not mean to encourage it. Without hope, no man loves a woman, no matter how beautiful she may be; but impudent and weak-minded men will sometimes hope when no reason whatever has been given them. But so easy is it for a vain woman, who loves power, and is fond of *éclat*, to

encourage an admirer by a movement, a look, a gentle sigh, of which no one could accuse her, but which, if deciphered by the eye of God, is deeply criminal—all this is so easy that, if a young woman has too many following her with apparent expectations, she will be suspected.”

This most excellent letter, the sentiments of which should be engraven on the heart and conscience of every young and attractive woman, is the simple expression of Mrs. Willard's whole morality, and which characterized her through life—not a legal and technical and pharisaic morality, adhering to the letter of the law; but a broad and comprehensive ethical creed, based on the eternal laws of God, and appealing to the conscience of the world. This sound morality was the rule of all her actions, and carried her through all her difficulties. It is the only morality consistent with Christianity; and, if applied to the general relations of life sincerely, would change the whole condition of society. It strikes a vital blow to all deceit, all lying, all hypocrisy. It would change all the common practices of merchants and politicians. It would make sincerity the guide of life, and ennoble every walk in life. It would change the whole system of ethics, and root out the false philosophy which so many teachers, in a low state of Christian discipline, are so ready to commend, perhaps unwittingly, but dangerously. The only immutable law of morality is that which is based on a spiritual Christianity. Even the law of Moses derives its main force from the declaration of a personal and sovereign God. His eye reaches to the depths and heights, to the vast circumference of the universe, and no being can hide himself from its dreadful and penetrating power. Whoever has a realizing and pervading sense of accountability to the Supreme Jehovah, will never shelter himself behind the sophistries of a legal morality.

The following tribute of respect from Mrs. Sigourney,

in a letter dated March 21, 1859, will be read with interest, since it enumerates, in a few lines, the services which Mrs. Willard has rendered :

“Mr. Barnard sent me yesterday that long-expected number of the *Journal of Education*, which contains the fine article (Mr. Fowler’s) on what you have done for *ourself* and country. Though I knew these services had been great, and extended over a large series of years, I had by no means a full idea of their magnitude and influence until thus seeing them in the aggregate, and so clearly and beautifully delineated. You seem to have compressed the results of many lives into one. Your books and scientific progress and discoveries would have apparently employed the industry of threescore years and ten, without the toils and energies which have made you the teacher and model of so many thousands. Every year your noble character, and the benefits you have conferred upon our sex, become more apparent. Your Christian faith, also, seems to me to acquire a deeper and a stronger life. This is as it ought to be. May your sun be cloudless till it passes the gates of the west !

“Truly yours, with affection,
“S. U. S.”

This letter is not too strong, and must have been both comforting and encouraging. If Mrs. Sigourney was not a woman of genius, she was a woman of talent, of sincerity, of good sense, of high principle, and keen and sure instincts. It is pleasant to record the friendship, without guile or envy, between two such women. It was thus in friendly correspondence, in literary labors, and in the discharge of social duties, that Mrs. Willard’s life passed, without much incident, in her retired home, surrounded with loving friends, until political evils withdrew her from retirement to the notice of the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM 1860 TO THE DEATH OF MRS. WILLARD, IN 1870.

ONE of the marked characteristics of Mrs. Willard was her ardent patriotism. This is a trait generally given to men rather than to women, and to men in public life. Yet few men, in the great convulsions through which this country passed from 1860 to 1865, felt a deeper interest than Mrs. Willard, and, in her sphere, sought to render more generous services. Her histories of the United States made her peculiarly conversant with political affairs, and tended to keep alive the intense fires which burned in her patriotic soul. She observed every movement with curiosity and interest, and deep solicitude. Her school had been largely patronized by Southern families, and teachers had gone forth from the seminary especially to the Southern States. She was well acquainted with Southern character and Southern institutions. She loved the whole country, and wished to see it united and prosperous. Her knowledge of the South and her associations inclined her to a large charity and generous toleration of differences of institutions. While she detested slavery, she yet had sympathy with the difficulties under which Southern slaveholders labored. She therefore wanted peace, and mistrusted agitation. She had great veneration for the conservative leaders in Congress, especially Webster, Clay,



D. Huntington Pinx.

H. W. Smith Sc.

Emma Miller

and Crittenden; and she believed that conciliation and wisdom would heal the growing difficulties between North and South. So she wrote letters to prominent statesmen, to express what she could not help saying. She also wrote in newspapers sundry appeals. The following was published in the *New-York Express*, December 19, 1860, when the question of secession was already broached :

AN APPEAL TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

(*From the New-York Express.*)

To the Hon. JAMES CHESTNUT, of South Carolina :

At this moment the Union, though threatened, is undissolved. Though it bleeds, no main artery has as yet been cut. When that is done, the life-blood must flow.

When South Carolina secedes, she intends keeping her members out of Congress. That, perhaps, might be done for a year, and, the injury to the State balancing the offence, no notice be taken of it; but, if South Carolina attempts to regulate her own commerce and collect her own revenue, collision with the General Government must ensue. Other Southern States, it may be said, are to do the same. The wider then will be the ruin. Suppose you tell us of the evils which you can inflict upon the North. What you say is all true, and we can, with equal truth, tell you of as great miseries which we can inflict upon the South. Ancient confederated Greece, like our republic, united, could defy a world in arms; divided Athens ruined Sparta, and Sparta destroyed Athens. The Persians stirred them up to jealousy, and they did the work of enemies, and caused their own destruction.

So may we fall into the snare which, long ago, the absolutists of Europe laid for us—divide on slavery issues—and imbrue our hands and drench our soil in brothers' blood. Then, ere long, it will be said, while tyrants rejoice

and humanity mourns, "America is fallen ! blotted from the list of nations ! Where is her commerce ? where her mercantile prosperity ? where her sheltering ægis, which protected her sons in foreign lands ? These, once gone, can never be restored."

Before the first step in this fatal career is actually taken, we entreat you to pause, and

"rather bear the ills you have,
Than fly to others that you know not of."

We have selected Colonel Chestnut, of Camden, as an individual, rather than with reference to his public station, to stand at the head of our appeal, because we know his personal character as a man, a gentleman, and a patriot. We know that, in whatever he does, he follows his convictions ; and we believe that if he could, even now, see reason to counsel delay, he would not allow false pride to prevent him.

Let us, then, reason together on this great subject. Suppose the South should allow themselves to be affectionately entreated by their Northern brethren to suspend the crisis which their attempts to secede must bring on. We believe that, at the recurrence of the next presidential election, her citizens would find themselves with prospects far more pleasing, as members of the Union, than now. Their cause has made decided advances in the Northern States within the four years ; and in some respects Providence seems working with them. The present condition of the West-India Islands is an open book that all may read. Would the British Parliament, if Jamaica stood before it as she was in her palmiest days, now abolish slavery ?

Then there is before the people of the North the spectacle of the negroes who have settled in Canada, around the terminus of the underground railroad. They were for-

merly employed by the Canadians near them; but now they have grown too thievish, indolent, and vicious. Ere long the authorities of Canada must meet the questions, What is to be done with these bad citizens? and, How may their increase be prevented? This throws upon the minds of the Northern people the great practical question, which cannot forever be kept out of sight by the perpetual discussion of abstractions, What can be done with the four million blacks here by the agency of former generations? Suppose them now unfixed and to be provided for, what would be the best disposition to make of them? They are not wanted at the North, and the climate does not suit them. Put them, then, at the South, where they are happy and useful. And, since they are not as capable of taking care of themselves as the whites are of taking care of them, distribute them. And, since whoever have them must provide for all the feeble and helpless, they must have the avails of the labor of the strong. Now, this is the outline of the very best plan for them, and it is such, also, of their actual condition. Unessentials to this programme, if wrong should be righted. And should the North embarrass their Southern brethren in regard to this arrangement, by disobeying the Constitution and the laws? But there is a change going on in the public mind, and views like these more and more prevail among us, by means of which the South will, ere long, be benefited.

The researches of Dr. Livingstone and others in Africa are showing that the condition of the native African and his civilization are far below that of American servitude. We do not say *slavery*, because we do not like the term, nor do we allow that ancient word, which applied where masters had power of life and death, can, with propriety, apply in cases where the master and the servant are both amenable to the same law, which equally protects the lives

of both. The master owns not the man, but his time. He has a perpetual servant—not a slave.

Again, we cannot but hope that some good, operating to quiet the distracted state of our now unhappy country, may arise, after a time, as the result of the late visit of a member of the royal family of England, and the intelligent and worthy nobleman who, with him, saw our country and its various institutions, and shared in the enthusiastic hospitality of our people. When the Duke of Newcastle returns, we cannot but believe that he will correct some errors of opinion, and infuse an added friendliness into the mind of his royal mistress; and that thus an honest feeling will arise in those high places to watch for us, and prevent the machinations of the diplomatists and the fanatics among them, who have hitherto practised to divide us, by their writings, their emissaries, and their money.

But it will be said that the present vote for President shows that the Northern mind is more than ever prejudiced against the domestic arrangements of the South. But, sir, there is another cause. Reverse the picture, and say how the South would have borne from the North the language which she has often given in reference to the possession of the government. Senator Hammond, a moderate man in comparison with many others, said, in substance, that the South had governed the country—they meant to govern it, and thought they should be able. When such assertions were read by Northern men, they said No! The South shall not always govern us; and it is such unreasonable assumptions that the South may thank for the election of a Republican President, and by the token that your Northern brethren would not submit to them, you may know that they are more honorable men than you took them to be; and be assured, sir, that this part of the Republican party have no sympathies with the abolitionists, but will be ambitious to govern well, and anxious that you

should have all your constitutional rights; and, if the disunionists of the party attempt to drag it in a contrary course, they will leave them and join the great Union party which began at Baltimore on the 9th of May, and which even now might have been in the ascendant had the South been as true to her own cause as was the city of New York in the presidential election. When it was seen that the South would not support the able man nominated—one of the worthiest of her own sons—then the efforts of her friends at the North grew hopeless and feeble.

The present course of South Carolina is fraught with destruction, if the words of the greatest of American constitutional lawyers and statesman are true. Peaceable secession he pronounced to be impossible. It is because the fair arch of American constitutional liberty cannot spare a single stone without ruin to the whole; and if of the removal of one there is imminent danger, self-preservation must compel violent efforts to keep it in its place.

New-York City has doubtless shown her devotion to the Union by the late presidential vote. It has given her favor in the eyes of the South. May she now elevate her character in the eyes of the nation by taking the Christian part of a peace-maker, and sending some of her wisest, most patriotic, and most acceptable men to the South, to speak face to face with their rulers and men of influence, to plead with them not to imperil this noble country—the mother of us all!

A. D.

As early as December, 1860, Mrs. Willard writes to her sister, Mrs. Phelps, her plan of laying a memorial before Congress from American women, feeling that she was called upon to do every thing in her power to prevent the

threatened evils. Accordingly, the memorial was prepared, receiving the commendation of the most respectable men in the community—men of all parties, distinguished in various walks of life.

These efforts were misinterpreted by many persons of high position, especially by Mr. Seward, who regarded Mrs. Willard as an advocate of slavery, and, according to her diary, she received from him a severe, and, as she regarded, an insulting rebuke in an interview at the Astor House, January 15, 1861, an insult she never forgot. She was no more the advocate of slavery than Mr. Webster was in his famous 7th of March speech, but an advocate of conciliation, deploring the cry of disunion, and fearing that it would end in war. And who can say that all the disastrous and demoralizing effects of the war might have been averted, had those efforts of conciliation, or compromise as some call them, been attended with success? Mrs. Willard apprehended that all the agitations of the North tended only to disruption, and that the emancipation of the negroes was aimed at by abolitionists, even at the cost of the Union itself, if it could not be reached in any other way. This was what Mr. Webster also feared, and Mr. Clay likewise, and for his noble effort to secure conciliation he has been stigmatized as a pro-slavery man, and lost his popularity with the North, or rather with the great antislavery party.

In spite of misinterpretation, Mrs. Willard persevered, and, although seventy-four years of age, she went to Washington to see if she could have influence with the great political leaders then assembled at a peace convention; also to secure the presentation of her memorial to Congress. Rev. Dr. Hawkes, of New York, gave her letters to Governor Gilmer, of North Carolina, a prominent statesman, by whom she was essentially aided. The following extract from a letter to her daughter explains her motives:

“WASHINGTON, *February 20, 1861.*

“MY DEAR SARAH: I felt that I *must* come; and I feel that the voice of the women in this crisis will not be unheeded, but will tend to peace; but counter-influences work the other way. Yet I have hopes still of a peaceful settlement.

“My sister and her sweet daughter are here with me; and my sister has exerted herself to get signatures to my memorial. I have modified it since it was first sent out, as the ultras on both sides objected to it, while some (judicious people, as I think) believe it will do much good by calling attention from mere political considerations to those of right and duty. This change of memorials and other causes made such a delay in the affair of getting signatures at New York that I shall not have as many as I expected from there. But Troy has done and is doing very well, and Philadelphia has already sent me a goodly number, and I am to receive more. The memorials are now circulating in Washington, Baltimore, and other places. But the time draws near. It is expected that the Peace Convention will have a proposition before Congress which will form a good occasion for presenting it. Sister desired me, as did Myra also, to present her affectionate regards to you. We should both feel that your presence would heighten the pleasure of our ‘chatting parties.’

“In undertaking to do something, though a little, for our beloved country, in this her hour of peril, I find I am but doing what many expected of me. A negro woman of my former much-attached friend Mrs. Gadsby—since her death being with her daughter—said, just before I came, in reference to the troubles of the country, ‘I think Mrs. Willard will soon come.’

“I hope the beautiful little grand-daughter is well ere this. God bless you, my ever-dear friend, and all you love.

And may His wisdom and His mighty power order all things for the good of our country.

“Your faithful and affectionate

“EMMA WILLARD.”

I remember her efforts that spring at Washington, being there myself, and was struck with her persevering persistency in securing attention from prominent men. At last the memorial was presented to the Senate by Mr. Crittenden, with a list of four thousand ladies, so long that the roll measured thirty-six feet. This able and patriotic senator introduced it by an eloquent speech, while Governor Gilmer presented the memorial in the House of Representatives. It was originally written in the form of a pamphlet; but was finally condensed in the following language:

MEMORIAL.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. This memorial, presented by Emma Willard, in the name and by the authority of American women, respectfully represents:

That we are impelled to address your Honorable Body by intense anxiety for the fate of our beloved country, the government of which now, in the conflict of opinions, is threatened with destruction. History is not without examples that, when deadly strife was raging among men, women came between the hostile parties and persuaded them to peace. So would we do now; and we have hopes that our memorial may be received with favor by your Honorable Body, as coming from that sex whose mission on earth is peace, duty, and righteousness.

Our hope and our prayer is, that this noble country, our nursing mother, our protection, and our pride, may be preserved entire. A continent in extent, an island in security—its harbors opening on the great oceans, it exceeds in

geographical position and commercial advantages, any nation of the present or the past. And while such is its ground-plan, its government is not the mere chance offspring of necessity, but deliberately devised from the teachings of all past ages, by men of the highest intellectual and moral stamp, with Washington at their head; and who, with pious hearts, sought yet higher guidance in the wisdom of God. And that their designs to make a better government than any which had gone before was triumphantly achieved, is proved by our unparalleled growth and prosperity under it—our liberty and security united; so that our beloved America became the envy and admiration of other nations, a warning to the oppressor, and a beacon-light to the oppressed.

Thus it has been; but now the picture is reversed: the pall of darkness is over us—the frown of God is upon us. Wrong is in our borders; for not more certainly may it be known that tempestuous winds have arisen when the sea is lashed into foam, than it may be known by these upheavings of society that evil passions have been at work, producing among us uncharitableness and hatred.

The question which we now beg your Honorable Body deeply to consider is, by what means may we, as a Christian people, regain the favor of God; return to the brotherly love which once blessed us, and be again a united and happy people.

Our humble petition is, that those to whom, in our feebleness, we look for help, will not allow party or sectional prejudices to prevail over a spirit of mutual conciliation. We pray you for our sake—and in the name of every endearing tie which unites man to woman—as father, husband, brother, and friend—not to abandon us to feel that we and our children are, by needless animosities, to lose the noble political inheritance left us by the valor and wisdom of our common fathers; but that the grand fabric

which they constructed may be preserved with equal talents and virtues by their descendants; for which your petitioners will ever devoutly pray.

COMMENDATION OF THE MOVEMENT BY MEN OF ALL PARTIES.

We have examined and approve of the spirit of a memorial designed to be presented in the name of the American women, who may sign it, to the Congress of the United States.

This memorial has originated among our countrywomen, and at their request we have examined it. The spirit of the memorial is indicated in the prayer it makes to those in authority "not to allow party or sectional prejudice to prevail over a spirit of mutual conciliation," while it earnestly entreats them "by every endearing tie that binds man to woman, as father, husband, brother, and friend, not to abandon them and their children to feel that they are to lose by needless animosity the noble political institution left us by the wisdom and valor of our common fathers." We can see nothing unbecoming in their sex in such a memorial from American women, and therefore heartily wish it may not be without effect in conducing to the increase of a spirit of conciliation and consequent restoration of harmony. We hope that the women of our country will manifest their concurrence in these wishes by giving their signatures to this memorial.

LUTHER BRADISH,
GEO. FOLSOM,
B. W. BONNEY,
THOMAS TILESTON,
WILSON G. HUNT,
FRED'K S. WINSTON,
HIRAM KETCHUM,
JAS. D. P. OGDEN,
STEWART BROWN,

GEO. T. ADEE,
JAS. B. MURRAY,
M. MORGAN,
JOSEPH KERNOCHAN,
CH. AUG. DAVIS,
R. WITHERS,
JONAS CONKLING,
G. W. DUER,
MEIGS D. BENJAMIN,

FRANCIS L. HAWKES.

The following is her letter of thanks to Senator Crittenden for his kindness and patriotism in presenting the memorial; also a letter to Mrs. Willard from Governor Gilmer:

“BALTIMORE, *March 4, 1861.*

“HON. SENATOR CRITTENDEN: Dear and respected—deeply so—not only in my heart, but in that of every American, who loves his country; ay, more than any other man now living; and from henceforth to be ranked with Henry Clay and the best patriots of the past. As long as I retain the memory of *his* noble compromise speech of 1850, so long shall I remember yours of March 2d—still more pathetic—for the times were more difficult, and to you appertained a self-abnegation to which he was by no similar circumstances called. And you were listened to with an attention so breathless that the remotest hearer of the galleries could catch every word. And though your eloquence failed at the moment of the effect it ought to have had on senators sternly predetermined in their course of action, whatever motives to change that course might be held up before them, and though the ruin of their country stared them in the face—yet, dear sir, keep up heart and hope. Your affecting words and deeds have gone forth to reach the hearts of your anxious countrymen, and they will be as good seed, there to germinate, and in time they will bring forth fruits of patriotism.

“I thank you in the name of the associated American women, who, with me, will be proud that our united effort for peace was presented to the Senate by yourself; and on that day of your most memorable speech—a speech which will never be forgotten, while patriotism lives.

“Mrs. Crittenden has my best wishes for her health and happiness, and my thanks for the trouble she kindly took in regard to the memorial.

"I hope, my dear sir, that your efforts for your country will not have too much impaired your health; but that repose, the love of your countrymen, and the smile of God will restore you.

"With undying respect, your grateful servant,

"EMMA WILLARD."

[By this copy of a letter I wish my dear friends to see that my efforts for peace, which you mention to sister, made good feeling; which is, as we hear, now coming back, to prove, as we trust, the "reunion of the Union."]

"GREENSBORO', N. C., *April 25, 1861.*

"MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

"DEAR MADAM: Yours of the 13th and 15th is received. I have been from home for ten days up in the western part of my State, making speeches for the Union. The crowds that attended were large, and gave most enthusiastic demonstrations in favor of remaining in the Union.

"If a majority of friends in the free States in the mean time had been seconding the efforts of myself and other national conservatives in the South, as you have, the calamities that now seem inevitable might in the Providence of God have been spared us.

"I met the storm most successfully, carrying the fight at Charleston on my shoulders. We had the secessionists down in North Carolina. But you cannot, by any description which I can give, have any true conception of my sorrow, when I was met by the President's war proclamation.¹ I withered up—my heart melted within me. The neighbors whom I left shouting for the Union, I found

¹ After the rebels had attacked and seized a fortress (Fort Sumter) belonging to the United States Government. Alas! our national life was at stake, and Mr. Lincoln could do no less.

on my return agitated and in arms. I retreated from their presence to my family. I sat down by the side of my dear weeping Mrs. Gilmer, whose grief was increased by reason of our only son having on one day's notice been hurried to Fort Macon.

"I have never before lost all hope for my country. In the future I can see nothing but the shedding of human blood. In my troubles I now purpose to do nothing more than to thank you for your letter to Mrs. Gilmer, who will answer you when her anxieties quiet, and to thank you most sincerely for your noble, kind, and Christian efforts to save *this great nation*.

"Oh, that we had more such noble spirits, that the nation might be spared!

"I am a firm believer in the Christian religion, and the teachings of the Old and New Testament. I know that your efforts will be rewarded.

"I have retired to myself, to answer in brief many letters from kind friends. Please write me again, and talk to me as you feel.

"Mrs. Gilmer and the children join me in the most friendly and cordial remembrances.

"Yours truly,

(Signed)

"JOHN A. GILMER."

(FROM GALER'S PAMPHLET.)

"He was ex-Governor of North Carolina, and that member of the House of Representatives to whose care my petition for peace in the name of American women was confided. By his management, after it was presented and discussed (the last thing before the Corwin compromise was passed), it was withdrawn and given to the most eminent man of the Senate, Henry Clay's friend, Crittenden, and fully brought before that body, recommended by an eloquent speech from that aged patriot—now no more.

The Corwin compromise is at this time regarded by statesmen as important to the expected reunion of the States. The gaining of over fourteen thousand lady subscribers from different States who signed the memorial, and the influence they exerted, was regarded by Mr. Crittenden as an essential item of the whole influence by which that compromise was obtained."

But no philanthropic efforts to prevent the catastrophe could be of any avail. The bitter contest must come, fanned by the leaders of both North and South, who, in times of passion, are ever the most violent advocates of extreme measures. The Peace Convention also proved a miserable failure, since there was no spirit of conciliation. The Southern leaders were determined to secede, and secession meant war. The leading politicians of the North, who had influence then in Congress and in the country, were not averse to war. Both parties were sure of victory. The war-spirit blazed from one end of the country to the other; and, in such a political conflagration, all remonstrance or opposition was futile and vain. What could a woman's voice avail in such a storm? But Mrs. Willard did all she could to avert the bloody strife, while she remained a Northern woman in her sympathies—patriotic, yet conservative. She secured the friendship of women of both sides by her generous efforts to procure reconciliation. Mrs. Gilmer sent her a beautiful bouquet, to whom Mrs. Willard returned the following lines :

"My lady dear, your beauteous flowers I hold
More precious to my heart than gems and gold;
Emblems they are which speak of peace to come,
Pure as their whiteness, sweet as their perfume.
If South and North could meet as we have met,
What happy days might be our country's yet!"

These beautiful lines, written *impromptu*, show that

poetry springs from the sentiments of the heart, and not from the thoughts of the brain. No artistic elaboration will supply the place of genuine feeling.

The following letter, written to Mrs. Gilmer in April, 1861, shows fully the sentiments which animated the writer before the contest absolutely commenced :

“TROY, April 4, 1861.

“MY DEAR MRS. GILMER: Your husband’s letter and yours reached me by the same mail three days ago. Deeply do I sympathize with your sorrow, and heavy has been my heart with the thoughts of what you suffer; and I would I could be with you to infuse hope into your despairing minds !

“There is a great misunderstanding between the North and the South. There is not that ‘wicked scheme’ to subjugate the South, on the part of the North, which you suppose. There are individuals in both sections wicked enough to do any thing to accomplish their own ambitious views of sectional, or indirect, or individual aggrandizement; but the great body of the people on both sides believe that they are each called on to make not *aggressive* but *defensive* war.

“The governor, your husband, wished me to write my thoughts without reserve. I wrote them to my sister—then in Baltimore, now in Philadelphia—a few days since; and, when I had done, copied some of them out and published them, then thinking they might do good; and I enclose them to you, as expressing my view of what ought to be the *ultimatum* of the whole North, and I believe it really is with the main body. You will recollect that, when secession first showed its direful head, the North were united against it, and would, if called on for a military demonstration, have fulfilled, I doubt not, General Wool’s declaration. When it was announced that Seward

was to be Secretary of State, the Democrats retook their separate position. At Sumter, when the American flag for so many hours was fired at by those who had for so many years been sheltered by it, a feeling penetrated the whole North that it was a parricidal act, and all felt that nothing short of a proclamation of the President of the United States, calling for troops to defend the flag, and to defend the threatened capital, could, either in the eyes of our own people or of foreigners, vindicate the honor and preserve the existence of the national Government—in fact, of the nation itself. Could you, my dear madam, and that noble patriot with whom you are ‘equally yoked,’ see this matter as I do, you would feel that the North, by developing patriotism and strength, have given to the lovers of the Union hopes that we may yet be reunited under an improved government. If I thought that the Northern armies were going to make aggressive war on the South, I should feel as unhappy about it as you would. So would the greater part of the Northern people. I have to-day read how Governor Sprague, who commanded in person the Rhode-Island regiment, sent back, under guard, three negroes who attempted to follow his troops, and delivered them to their masters; and, should any rising of the slaves occur within reach of our troops, confident I am that they would join you to put it down. Did I believe that any opposite course was thought of and would be tolerated at the North, especially against the faithful and respected State of North Carolina, I would not live here. My bones should not be laid to moulder into this soil, but I would make it obligatory on my executor to carry them to North Carolina, and, if you permit, lay them near where you expect to be laid. But, my dear friend, things will not come to this pass. God willing, if I live I will go to North Carolina, and visit you in your own pleasant Greensboro’—your own happy home. Your dear son will return to you

unscathed. The part he has taken will satisfy the minds of your State's people that your family are true to them, and will leave Mr. Gilmer the power to do good to the Union, when the time comes that they understand that the great body of the people want—what they want—to put down treason, and restore our noble republic to its pristine glory. I am going to write to the governor as soon as I can—perhaps a letter that I shall choose to publish. My neighbors, since my return from Washington, seem to take much interest in what I write. Saturday Mrs. Ellet, author of the 'Women of the Revolution,' came from New York to see me, with this message from ladies there: 'What can the women do to promote peace?' Mrs. Ellet was once of Columbia, South Carolina, the wife of Professor Ellet. And I have a question to ask both you and Mr. Gilmer: Would you have any objection that I should publish the whole or a part of your letters to me? Some of my friends think it would do much good. My own only son—we are alike in this respect to be mothers of only sons—mine was much moved by your letters, and thought they ought to be published; but, without your approbation, I would not do it. That the Holy Comforter himself may be with you and your dear husband, is the prayer of

"Your devoted friend,

"EMMA WILLARD."

Mrs. Gilmer, in reply, uttered the sentiment of probably the best Southern ladies at the time. I insert it, to show that they were not all blood-thirsty and eager for the contest:

"GREENSBORO', N. C., *April 23, 1861.*

"TO MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

"DEAR MRS. WILLARD: When I received your much-valued letter, a day or two ago, I was engaged in prepar-

ing our only son to join a company to go to guard our State from the encroachments of the Northern troops. I cannot yet realize that the alarm of war has gone forth in our land. Many and fervent have been the prayers of multitudes in the land that this sound they might never hear among those who were once brethren, and ought to be so still. Within the last ten days the sun of our country's hope has gone down in gloom. How dark, how deep! Are we henceforth to be a divided nation, a separated people? Must we be cut off from those with whom we have had sweet fellowship and communion—those we love—whose hopes of heaven and happiness are the same? I fear separation is unavoidable, but we should part in peace. Humanity, religion, the Christian world, the God of peace himself, all cry forbear! Nothing but a wicked madness will urge this cruel war, this wicked scheme.

“I think Mr. Lincoln has been misled in thinking it would be an easy matter to subdue or bring into terms the seceding States, or that the other Southern States would lie quietly and see their brethren—some who have nursed at the same breast—murdered, and not go to their relief. Most gladly would our State have held back and been a mediator, but that time is past. Virginia, also, has waited, hoping for a more favorable turn of affairs; but, now that the awful crisis has come upon us, with hearts lowing, bleeding, and wellnigh bursting with grief, they will meet it like men. He who keeps back from defending his home and his kindred deserves to be himself an outcast from both. Mr. Gilmer was away from home among the mountains attending his courts; and the very day that his son—our dear only boy—was preparing his arms for defence, his father was making a Union speech, calling upon his friends and fellow-citizens to stand firm—to hold to the Union. After a most patient and anxious effort to effect a peaceful settlement of our difficulties, Mr. Gilmer returned

to his home, he hoped, with some *assurances* that there would be no warlike measures adopted to regain the Federal property of those States that had declared their independence. He had again turned from the strifes of political life to the more pleasant duties of his profession, and cheering on his friends in the right way, when, on arriving at home late last Saturday, the first news that greeted him was the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, and the call of our governor for troops to defend our State; and, to see those in whose welfare his whole soul is drawn out, and his hopes and affections clustered, preparing to leave, and to be called to press to his aching heart his precious boy, perhaps forever, and, with a broken heart and a trembling voice, he would only say, 'I thank God I did all I could to prevent *this*. I talked to the North and to the South, but they would not listen to me.'

"Should our country become involved in a civil war, the contest will be a most unequal one. The government has the navy, the army, with any amount of money, with a population of foreigners and low people to do her fighting, that they will be the better by getting clear of; while we have no preparation for war, and no one but our husbands, sons, and brothers, to defend us. The very idea is heart-sickening and overwhelming. May God, in His mercy, avert this sad calamity; and, if it is His will, let the cup be removed from us. Our trust is in Him alone; He has the hearts of all in His hands. God has some wise design in thus afflicting us. He has promised never to leave or to forsake His people. May we be resigned and submissive to His will—not murmuring if we are afflicted and chastened.

"When I met you, dear friend, I did not think our intercourse would have so sad a termination. Your kind invitation to me to visit you only presents the times in a more gloomy aspect. Your petition is another evidence

of the goodness of your heart. God will bless the efforts of His children for good. Should these troublous times cease, how gladly would I welcome you to our pleasant home, and with what pride and pleasure would I introduce you to my children and kindred as *my friend*! May God bless you, dear madam, and may you, like good old Simeon, see the glory of God in all your trials, and, feeling as he did, resign yourself into the hands of our blessed Saviour! Mr. Gilmer appreciates your friendship and kind regards. He had only time to pen you a short note. He, with our daughters, unite with me in much love and kind regards to yourself and family. I shall ever esteem it a privilege to hear from you. I hope we will not, in the course of events, be debarred the pleasure of corresponding with those we love, though in a different portion of our once happy country.

“With sincere regards, ever yours most affectionately,
“JULIA A. GILMER.”

One of the peculiarities of Mrs. Willard was the habit, through life, of writing letters to great men, whether she was personally acquainted with them or not, when she was moved by a powerful patriotic impulse. Hence her letters to the Adamses, to Webster, Clay, Lafayette, Fillmore, and other eminent statesmen, not to flatter them, for she had nothing to gain from them, but to encourage them in labors which seemed beneficent. Most of these distinguished statesmen replied with courteousness and kindness. I do not praise or censure this peculiarity, since it is a question of taste. She doubtless laid herself open to the imputation of vanity, when she was really actuated by sentiments of patriotism. Nevertheless, she often did write such letters. The following, as a specimen, I find directed to President Lincoln, but he was too preoccupied to answer it himself; he acknowledged it through his secretary:

"TROY, October 5, 1861.

"To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States of America.*

"DEAR SIR: Presuming that I am known to you as a writer of my country's history, and having just heard that the great cares which weigh upon you begin to tell upon your physical health, I determined to write to you my high approval of your general course and leading measures, and the judgment I entertain that, if your soundness of mind and body continue, so that you can weigh these great matters as you have done, and, with the same calmness and steadiness, pursue and cause to be carried out the great measures you have decreed, success will, by the aid of Him in whom you have trusted, finally crown the efforts headed by you, and that your name will go down to posterity near to that of Washington. If, as I believe, your acts have been characterized by that boldness and moderation combined which the circumstances of the times demanded and warranted—they being more trying than any President of the republic has heretofore encountered—this will certainly be the case.

"When a great man's heart is encouraged, he is strengthened; and, in the view here taken of your position, your health is shown to be of great importance to your country.

"With profound respect,

"EMMA WILLARD."

Notwithstanding Mrs. Willard's spirit of conciliation, she plainly saw the necessity of energetic measures, on the part of the Government, when the unity of the empire was once imperilled. No person in the land was more brave and heroic when patriotism demanded the opposition of force to force. If she was eager for peace and quiet, she was still more eager for coercive measures when the fatal ne-

cessity came. And, when the storm fairly burst forth by the seizure of Sumter and the riot in Baltimore, she was intensely Northern in all her sympathies, as the following letters to Mrs. Phelps show, when she heard the first rumors of difficulties where her sister lived. One was written in April, the other in May, and in both her patriotism shines forth, as it did in the hearts of all noble women at the time :

"TROY, *April* 23, 1861.

"MY DEAR SISTER : I am so distressed about you, from the vague rumors which are floating, that I could not sleep much last night, and to-day I feel used up. And, though I am writing, I hardly expect you will receive my letter, as I understand the railroads are made impassable by the destruction of bridges, etc. The rumor was started, Sunday evening, that Fort McHenry was threatened, and, if attacked, would bombard Baltimore. Yesterday forenoon the word came that this had begun. About four o'clock P. M. I was waked from my nap to see Mrs. Norton, who came to condole with me. She had been told in the streets that Baltimore was on fire ! She had no sooner left me than another neighbor—I think I will not mention to you her name—came in, and she thought that, if it was true that Baltimore had refused a passage to Northern troops, the first thing they ought to do should be 'to *sack* the city.' I was angered, and read her such a lesson on the meaning of words and Christian warfare that she acknowledged herself ignorant, and asked my pardon. But this she did mean, that the North, going to defend their country from destruction, must find or make a clear road to the capital, and whoever opposed did it at the peril of their own destruction. This is the universal sentiment of the North. And there is such a rising here as reminds me of the oft-quoted sentence of Anna Commena, that 'Europe,

loosened from its foundation, seemed precipitating itself on Asia.' But I hear this morning that an arrangement is made by the Government at Washington with that of the city of Baltimore, that the railroads are to be repaired and communications opened; and we hear no confirmation of the reports of yesterday; neither do we hear an express denial. I hope every hour to hear from you, as I know you will write if you are able.

"The last letter I have from you is the one in which you speak of (that good man and worthy officer) Colonel Huger. I have talked to Olin and others what a hard case it was. Mr. Olin acknowledged it. He had just returned from Washington, and was in Baltimore when the attack was made on the Massachusetts regiment. He says the mob were put up by secessionists. But, in regard to Colonel Huger, Mr. Olin said that, however the executive might regret to do it, necessity compelled them at this time, when their country and their lives were at stake, not to allow of resignations in the army on easier terms. The example would be ruin to them.

"I have felt sorry that I have said one word in my letters to discourage you from going to Philadelphia. I wish you and Myra were there, or here with us. I believe Charles was quite right on that point. But I am not sorry that I wrote to Charles my impression of the final result of this strife, though things, I see, now have gone further in Baltimore than I had supposed.

"The feeling at the North was foreshadowed by what I said, in 1855, to Judge Miller, of Mississippi, when, by his voice, the possibility of the South's attempting to seize Washington was first presented to my astonished mind in these words, spoken in his pompous manner: 'If we do divide, we of the South shall, of course, take the government and the government buildings.' Without a second's premeditation I uttered the sentiment: 'Not till you have

killed every man, woman, and child, north of Mason and Dixon's line; for, when you have finished with the men, you will then have to fight the women and the children.' And this, as events develop themselves, is proved to be the universal determination of the North; and I may be mistaken, but I cannot but believe that this concentrated feeling, deep enough to make men proffer their lives and their fortunes (see Astor's gift of fourteen millions), will yet bring back the nation to unity at home and respectability abroad.

"And, if this is the reality, foreshadowed by the relative strength and resources of the North; and especially if this is striking the balance—and I think I stated the arguments in their proper weight in my letter to Charles—then surely it would be the very madness of folly for Maryland to oppose herself to the tornado coming from the North to Washington. She must bend to the breeze, or be uprooted. Governor Hicks seems to be the man for the times, and I look to Charles with a confident belief that he will draw the right way as much as in him lies.

"Let Maryland keep a neutral position (in regard to fighting) herself if she chooses; but, if she attempts to bar the way of the troops of the North—especially if she makes war upon them—unspeakable is the distress that awaits her; and I fear an evil for the North equally great or greater, that, in their anger, they will disgrace themselves—that is, some of them will do acts which will disgrace us all. I fear, among the rest, that John Brown raids will be made by some of the deadly abolitionists. Don't provoke them; and we, who hate such things as bad as you, will do all we can to denounce the barbarous and abominable nature of such warfare.

"On Sunday the anxiety for the fate of Washington was intense, and it remains strong. But, as troops reach there, we more and more hope it may be safe, and remain

so. You in Maryland are bound to pray for it, for the North are ready to sacrifice a million lives and a thousand millions of money rather than to give it up.

“But I think, as I wrote Mrs. Sigourney, that, while the North hold firmly the sword in one hand, and show plainly that they are no cowards and no doughfaces, they ought kindly to proffer the olive-branch with the other. Let them show plainly that they have no thought to *conquer* the South by force of arms, but that their *ultimatum* is this—the Government shall not be illegally broken up, and this part of the continent disintegrated, like Mexico, by secessionism, but the Southern States must all go with us into a *general convention of the people*, that will vindicate, in the face of the world, the American principle—and whatever ‘we, the people,’ decree, will be valid, and the hydra-headed monster, Anarchy, will be slain. If we should, in such a convention, find that the South have made improvements in the American Constitution—which I think they have—let us adopt them.

“To speak of giving love to Charles and Myra, when she knew how intensely anxious I am for you all, seems childish. I have not yet heard whether Manning has returned.

“May God, in judgment, remember mercy !

“Your ever-faithful and affectionate sister,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

“TROY, May 7, 1861.

“MY DEAR SISTER: . . . I sympathize in your divided feelings and in your love for your Maryland friends ; but I do rejoice that you are enabled to see the truth as it is, in regard to our national affairs. You are glad to see a national strength arising which shows itself able to defend our nationality. Devoutly do I thank God for it, and pray that it may be endued with strength from on high to ac-

comply with this righteous purpose. My heart is lifted up as our country rises from the mire of degradation which she was placed in when our Congress was daily insulted by the traitor-servants who had sworn to support her, and who were receiving her pay. If such treason appears there again, I think there will be arrests, and trials, and executions. Better so than worse.

"I read Mr. Betts's good, honest, and friendly letter. The South have some views concerning the North that I think will be corrected by this war. The Marylanders seem now to feel disposed to bow to the storm till it passes over, and then despise the North and love the South; but, if we convince them that we are not to be despised, after that, perhaps, we can make them love us. Such is the nature of rebellious man, even with respect to our Maker, that we must feel His power, as manifested in His chastisements, before we can love Him for His goodness. I wanted you should tell me just how every thing looks about the dear house in Baltimore, where I have found for many weeks an elegant and happy home; and I am glad to feel that it is in perfect safety. I fancied that you would ask Mrs. Tyler to look after it, because she is such a fearless, reliable woman. And then the silver could not be in better hands. And so cheer up, dear sister, and don't let a morbid melancholy take possession of you. Such a shock as you have had must needs affect you for a time; but think of your deliverance and of your mercies. As to your home, I do not see as it is in danger at all. And events for the future are so uncertain that it seems to me, now you are away, that you had better not immediately return—in this I say nothing at all about Charles. I would not presume to give him any advice; or, in fact, you either; you both know your own circumstances and feelings best. You said a few words about coming here, which I keep entirely to myself. We should not disagree in the

long-run, for I will do as I would be done by; but you must come and make me as long a visit as ever. Tell dear Myra I thank her kindly for her excellent letter. Love to all.

"I am now engaged in something in which I have a prospect of doing no little good. I have been writing to-day an article for publication, with the understanding and approbation of the gentlemen committee of the relief fund (the fund for the relief of the families of the volunteers), and of several of our most influential ladies, and a full prospect of putting in operation there the scheme, which I think I understand is universal. Perhaps, if they have not done so already, the Philadelphians will take it up. When I publish, I mean to send you a paper.

"Your ever-affectionate sister,

"EMMA W."

The following is a letter to Mrs. Gilmer, after hostilities had broken out :

"TROY, *May* 21, 1861.

"MY DEAR MRS. GILMER: I hope you and Mr. Gilmer have received the letters which I wrote in answer to your affecting communications, announcing the fact of Mr. Gilmer's being at the West pleading the cause of the Union, while you were filled with anguish unspeakable at the apparent necessity, as felt by your son, that he should enlist on the opposite side. Who can wonder at your feelings? It is quite apparent, from a note in your writing, from a paper day before yesterday sent me by you from Greentown, that they are now as acute as ever. Our national affairs have led us to a position distasteful to us all. Blood has not flowed as yet, and perhaps the Lord may hear our prayers, and find some other way in which our differences may be settled. Would that, when I carried my peace-

offering to Washington, it could have been accepted—the one which made, as I think, the friendship between you and me, because you heartily concurred in it! You saw I loved the right, and that was just what you loved yourself; and, by this token, we understood each other—to be persons in our inmost hearts desirous of having the will of God made the basis of our country's threatening discords. And may we not hope that a time will come when the ultraists, North and South, will see as we then saw—that peace and union are greatly to be desired, and can only be relied on as permanent when founded on the eternal basis of truth and right? No man is degraded when he loves and submits himself to the will of God. And who knows, my dear friend, but the chastisements of the Almighty may bring us, on both sides, to our senses? Who knows but the women may yet contrive some way of peace, for we love one another South and North, and Christian women will watch for opportunities to make peace, and pray that peace and righteousness may prevail? At the same time, the necessities of our position may make us act with the section to which we belong.

“The speech of Mr. Graham, in the paper which you sent me, is able and patriotic; but I disagree with some of his theoretical views. I have not yet written to Mr. Gilmer the letter I promised him, giving my own views on the present state of the country, for I do not feel certain that my letters reach you.

“To Mr. Gilmer present me with cordial regards, and believe me, dear madam,

“Faithfully your friend,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

The following letter from Professor Davies, formerly of West Point, shows his appreciation of Mrs. Willard's efforts:

"FISHKILL LANDING, *June 8, 1861.*

"MY DEAR MADAM: I read, with very close attention, your article in the Troy paper on the subject of providing for the wants of the volunteers and their families; and, when I had finished it, I remarked to Mrs. Davies that 'it contained more valuable suggestions, and evinced more good knowledge, in regard to the wants and claims of the army, than any paper which I had read since the opening of the war.' It was, indeed, admirable in tone and temper, and in far-reaching views of a wise organization.

"In regard to the unhappy difference between Generals Scott and Wool, I, with you, equally regret it.

"I have seen General Scott since the correspondence (though before the receipt of your letter); and, although I did not converse with him directly on the subject, yet, from a few casual remarks which he made, I am quite certain that I could do nothing to induce a change in the state of present relations.

"General Scott is overwhelmed with business and perplexing cares. He has but a moment's time for any one thing or subject, and, that being disposed of, he passes immediately to the next, and has no time to look to the past and review decisions.

"While, therefore, I fully appreciate, with you, the advantages which the public interests would receive in a perfect harmony of sentiment and entire unity of action between the two generals, and while I should be most happy to aid in bringing such a result about, yet I feel quite certain that no influence which I could exert would effect that object. To attempt it, either by correspondence or a personal interview, would only disturb and perplex General Scott, without soothing the feelings of either party or promoting the public interests.

"Too much prosperity and too many blessings appear to have turned the hearts of the people from their duty.

The very few restraints which our form of government imposed appear to have stimulated rather than repressed the natural turbulence of our nature, and we have risen up in rebellion against the mildest form of government which the world has ever known.

"It is certainly to be hoped that the chastenings we are to receive will make us a better, and therefore in the end, a happier people.

"We are all comfortably located in the country, after a winter's residence in the city.

"Mrs. Scudder, we hear, is better, and we hope will soon be with us, when your excellent granddaughter will be released from that Christian duty of nursing the sick, which to her has been a labor of love. She has won all our hearts, and insured our permanent and grateful friendship.

"Please remember us kindly to her parents and sisters, and accept the renewed assurances of our warmest friendship.

"Very truly yours,

"CHARLES DAVIES."

The following letter from Judge Olin, then a member of Congress, shows her efforts in behalf of her country, and his estimation of her political sagacity:

"WASHINGTON, *January 19, 1862.*

"DEAR MADAM: . . . I wrote Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, the other day, detailing my labors and their result in attempting to obtain for her and you a contract to make army under-clothing, and thus give employment to the poor sewing-women of your respective cities.

"I think I should have been successful but for an unfortunate experiment the Department has already made.

"Some benevolent lady in Massachusetts, whose name

I have forgotten, succeeded, by the aid of some members of Congress, in obtaining a job for the manufacture of shirts and drawers; and, when the manufactured articles were returned, it appeared that different kinds and qualities of cloth were put in the same garment, and the inspector condemned the whole lot of clothing—the work and materials all a dead loss to the Government.

“I must congratulate you upon being wiser than all of us upon the Mason and Slidell affair. The whole thing has turned out precisely as you predicted. As the events have proved, no one among all the various persons with whom I conversed had half so clear and comprehensive a view of the policy of England toward us, and the motives and feelings of those who shape that policy, as yourself. Whether it was the result of long study and observation, or a happy inspiration, I know not; but it is certainly true that you alone, and from the first, foresaw just the course her public men would pursue.

“I hope you are enjoying your usual health. I should be most happy to see you. Mrs. O—— sends her love to you and yours.

“Very truly yours,

“A. B. OLIN.”

The following letter to her dear friend Miss Whittlesey, is a good introduction to her “*Via Media*,” which she wrote in 1862, and upon which she concentrated her energies; also the one following from her nephew, Judge Willard, in reference to the same subject, and an admirable *résumé* of the arguments which men of intellect and character put forth in reference to the war:

“TROY, July 9, 1862.

“MY DEAR MARY: . . . About the last of March I left to go to Washington, from whence, after a week, I went to

Baltimore, to visit my sister. With her I spent nearly two months, that time being broken by (my sister going also, with her son and daughter) visiting Washington. While in Washington the last time, I engaged to write an article, which was to have been published in the *National Intelligencer*; but, after it was written, it was thought best that it should be published in a pamphlet form. It was published in Washington, under the supervision of Colonel Gardner, a well-known gentleman and patriot of that place. He was a former friend of mine, and named his oldest daughter (afterward my pupil) after me. Perhaps you may remember Emma Gardner, who was, I think, my pupil about the time that you were. She became the wife afterward of the Governor of Louisiana, who is now an eminent man. I shall send my pamphlet to you as soon as I get a quantity, which I expect from Washington.

“You will not wonder that my thoughts dwell so much on our suffering country that I neglect every thing else, when I fancy that I may possibly do something that will do good, and hasten a settlement of our destructive family quarrel. My pamphlet has already procured for me some of the highest compliments I have ever received (you must not mention if I tell you that Colonel Gardner says it will give me the credit of ‘profound statesmanship;’ and, what is better, he gives it as his opinion that I had laid down principles on which the difficulties between the North and the South will ultimately be settled, though not yet).

“When you have read my pamphlet, I should like to have you show it to Ellen’s husband, and get his opinion of my views, and perhaps you may of some other of your sensible people. What you said of Dr. Hamilton was good. I called to see him when I was last in Saratoga.

“Most affectionately your aunt and friend,

“EMMA WILLARD.”

"SARATOGA SPRINGS, July 28, 1862.

"MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

"DEAR AUNT: On the 23d of April last I wrote you a letter from this place, addressed to you at Baltimore, informing you that I had been obliged to leave Albany a few days before the close of the session, on account of my health. The letter was returned to me a few days since from the dead-letter office at Washington, from which I learn, of course, that you did not receive it.

"I received this morning, by the mail from Troy, your pamphlet on the slavery question, and have carefully read it. You entitle it '*Via Media*.' There is no such way at present. We have passed it a long time since, and nothing now remains but to see which section of the country is the strongest. The South has been, from the beginning, conducting the contest with intense earnestness, while we have endeavored to wage war with the least possible injury to our enemy. That policy must be abandoned, unless we are willing to be defeated. We must meet them with the same spirit which they have all along manifested, and use all the means of aggression and defence which the laws of war will justify. We are in the midst of a revolution, and men's minds are constantly changing with the shifting of the scene. I see no remedy for the North but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor.

"The South has had the advantage of us from the beginning: 1. They had been a long time preparing for the struggle, while we were idle and unsuspecting of an assault. 2. They have educated their people in the doctrine of secession, and have brought about, by persuasion or coercion, an entire unanimity of opinion against us. 3. They have found in their slaves an element of great strength. They have instructed them to believe, and they

do believe, that the abolitionists are their greatest enemies, and under this name they embrace the whole North. They would shoot an abolitionist as quick as they would a rattlesnake. They would shoot me, who was never an abolitionist, as soon as they would Greeley or Beecher. 4. The North has been and still is, to a great extent, divided. We have among us still strong sympathizers, and others who give us but an equivocal support. 5. We are divided in opinion as to the best way to put down the rebellion; and we have no head, with a strong, indomitable will, to combine the various elements of power into one. The South is wielded by a single mind, intelligent and unscrupulous, while our strength is frittered away by visionary projects and foolish schemes. Unless God is truly on our side, we shall fail by our own folly. 6. The sympathy of England and France, and perhaps all of Europe, is against us, and with the South. Their wish is to divide us; and, when our strength is nearly exhausted, they will probably recognize the South, and become parties to the war. Our people will not yield to their advice, and consent to a division of the republic. We shall fight while a man remains to bear a musket, and a dollar can be found to support him.

“It is in our favor that Congress has adjourned. We shall be, for a few months, without the interference of demagogues. The Administration is beginning to arouse to the magnitude of the struggle.

“Though I have very little confidence in some of the projects adopted by Congress, I am not inclined to find fault. We cannot afford to waste our time in grumbling; we need the strength of all parties.

“I have not spoken of the merits of your plan. There may be a time when it can be used, but it cannot be now. Though wise in its conception and philanthropic in its object, it would, in my judgment, do more

harm than good to press it on the country at the present time.

“Yours affectionately,

“JOHN WILLARD.”

The ‘*Via Media*’ was published in May or June, 1862, when there were still hopes that a peaceful settlement could be made before the South should be involved in ruin. As this essay was written under deep conviction and intense patriotic sentiments, it is one of the best efforts of Mrs. Willard, and deserves a full insertion in this biography. The question, however, to which it relates was solved by the fortunes of war. When Mr. Lincoln, as the commander-in-chief of our armies in times of war, as well as President of the United States, uttered his famous proclamation decreeing the abolition of slavery, the Gordian knot was cut.

I insert, however, the following letter, in reference to this essay, from General McClellan :

“ORANGE, N. J., *December 1, 1864.*

“MRS. EMMA WILLARD, *-Troy.*

“MY DEAR MADAM: Your very kind note of the 23d, with the accompanying papers, reached here a few days since, but I have been prevented from acknowledging them at an earlier day by my absence from home, and trust that you will accept my apology for the delay.

“I have read the ‘*Via Media*’ with much interest, and take much pleasure in saying to you that the views it puts forth are almost identical with those I have entertained since I first reflected carefully upon the subject of which it treats. Had power been placed in my hands, I should have exerted it to bring about such a system as you advocate. No one appreciates more fully than I do the evils of slavery—both to the white and the black; on the other

hand, no one understands more fully the inability of the blacks to take care of themselves when thrown among a superior race.

"The '*Via Media*' is, I think, the only true road to a successful solution of the problem.

"It can be so carried into effect as to preserve the rights and secure the interests of all concerned.

"I fear that Mr. Marble is correct in his opinion that the time has not yet arrived when Democratic support can aid in this matter. Fanaticism must first run its course, and bear its bitter fruits.

"Suffering and disappointment may and will open the minds and hearts of men, and prepare them to listen to the counsels of wisdom and moderation. But, until the mass of the people have encountered that disappointment and endured that suffering, I fear that we can only 'sit upon the bark and await the wind.'

"The temper of the dominant party still unfits them for the exercise of reason—the sway of passion and prejudice is yet supreme. We can only act now in private circles; the public arena is closed to us for the present. But I still have faith that God has not forsaken us, and I believe that the day will yet arrive when calmness will resume the place now held by violence, and when, with hope of success, we can appeal to the reason and better sentiments of our people—the fire will at length die out for want of nutriment.

"I regret extremely that the circumstances which you observed prevented my seeing any thing of you when you were good enough to visit Mrs. Marcy. I should have been very glad to have had a long conversation with you. With the hope that that pleasure may still be in store for me, I am, my dear madam,

"Very respectfully and truly your friend,

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN."

THE AFRICAN IN AMERICA: TO FIND HIS TRUE POSITION, AND PLACE HIM IN IT, THE *VIA MEDIA* ON WHICH THE NORTH AND SOUTH MIGHT MEET IN A PERMANENT AND HAPPY SETTLEMENT.

THIS nation appears evidently near a crisis, in which the forms of our past policy, in regard to the Africans among us, must encounter a change. A great upheaval—a bloody civil war, having reference to that race, has so commingled and dissolved the political elements, that they are now in a plastic state, and ready to be moulded for futurity—well or ill, as wisdom or folly shall rule the hour. Light is needed, and will be welcome, even should it come glimmering from an earthen vase—long used, and ready to mingle with its native dust.

Our subject is the African race as existing in this nation, North and South; and the great question underlying it is, What, considering their peculiar characteristics, ought to be their condition in our social system? And we conceive that the inquiry would become simplified, if the statesman should first look at it in the single aspect of righteous dealing to the race; for, if he find what this would be, he may surely expect that, in following it out, he would produce a state of things among us good for all; for good and right, duty and expediency, as God sees them, are one.

Said the eloquent Henry Ward Beecher (who has recently modified his views respecting the negroes), "If I had been God, I would not have made them at all; but, since He who is wiser than all of us put together has seen fit to make them and bring them here, what are you going to do with them?"¹ Bating a touch of profanity, we would thank Mr. Beecher for this candid statement of the

¹ A highly-respectable lady, who heard him, related this to me and to others.

case, indicating, as it does, the great error of fanaticism. God grant it may see and retrace its mistakes, before it is yet too late to save our country from their direful effects ! Doubtless, God made the negro, and He made him as He made the white man, after His own perfect pattern, and fitted him to his peculiar place and duties ; and the reason of men's embarrassment respecting him is, that, overlooking the indications of God's will concerning him, they have jumped to conclusions from their own conceits. That this is true is evident from the fact that they find the negro made amiss. Said the late Governor Slade—and he sighed deeply as he spoke—"After all that we can do for the negroes, they must be black !"

Among the philosophers who have thought the creation might have been improved had the Almighty taken them into His counsels, we may now reckon Mr. Beecher, in addition to King Alphonso of Portugal—the last respecting the stars of the heavens, and the first respecting the negroes of the earth. And be it remarked, they were both in advance of those who remained satisfied with the false systems received around them.

Of those false systems, none are more pernicious, none fraught with more fatal consequences to our social system, as regards both our race and the African, than that which sets up for the political equality of the negro race, and holds them entitled, in this country, to all the political privileges of the whites. I particularly take exception to this, as a woman.

Reckoning, for the sake of the argument, that the people of this nation exist in four parts—1. The white men ; 2. The white women ; 3. The negroes ; and 4. The Indians—there is but one part of the four, the white men, to whom political power appertains ; and it should only be to the educated among them. Others have nothing to do, either with making constitutional laws or legislative enact-

ments, or any share in administering them after they are made; and so we hold it right that it should be. We sit down contentedly in a class which has not this power, believing that, in the present state of the world, our political rights and those of our children are safest in the hands of the educated men of our race; and that to take care of them is their high and sacred duty—a duty which is not transferable, and which they cannot impart to the men of a subordinate race, without a keenly-felt indignity and wrong inflicted upon us.

Observe here that we are not discussing absolute inferiority and its opposite. The dependent vine hangs her rich clusters upon the rough arms of the self-supporting oak; yet who says that the vine, as a work of God, is inferior to the oak? Neither is the small and beautiful wheat-stalk inferior to either; or even the lowly esculent that hides in the ground the nutritious bulb which gives food to nations. Among the human race the greatness which will decide our acceptance with God is to be judged of by the rule, he that would be great among you, let him be your ministering servant. In this sense, and even intellectually, the wife may be greater than the husband, and the servant greater than either; but, both in the family and in the state, order must prevail; law, human and divine, must have its course; and the good show their goodness by submission. This is one of the trials of this life, by which immortal beings become fitted for a better.

Were a grand family procession to set forth in the order appointed by Providence, the white men would go first, the white women with their children second, and next the colored servants. And who knows but one of the causes—not the principal, which doubtless relates to climate—why the Almighty has seen fit to distinguish them by color, is that their place in the family shall be unmistakably settled, so that all jealous heart-burnings and vain

expectations shall be spared, and a permanent order in the household be established? We know, by the Ten Commandments, that the servant's place in the family is sanctioned by God; and who knows that, in forming the negro, He has not had it in view to create a race with a mission to serve the white women, and add strength to their physical weakness?

Concerning the effects of climate—the colored man, by his extended apparatus for breathing, inhales in a given time as much oxygen from the diluted atmosphere of the South, as the white man, with his small mouth and compressed nostril, gets from the concentrated atmosphere of the North; while, by the negro's superior evaporating apparatus, he is kept cool where a white man would perish from heat. But the white man may, by keeping in shelter, inhabit the same region, and, by his superior brain (the average difference being calculated at from twenty-one to eighteen), may direct his energies, though he cannot labor by his side. And, while only a few negroes would be employed at the North, the great body of them would be retained as field-laborers at the South.

It is man's wisdom to worship God, as the Universal, All-Wise Ruler, not only by following out the indications of His will in His works of Nature, but in submitting to the dispensations of His righteous providence. He has not only made the negro as he is, but He has placed him here, and in such numbers *that he cannot now be removed*; and our first duty concerning him is to settle his true position among us.

There is an ulterior object, dear to the heart of Christian philanthropists, especially those of the African race, which looks to their ultimate removal to Liberia. This should not be lost sight of; but it can by no possibility go forward but at a rate too slow to make much difference in

the account of what is now to be done with the Africans of America. They amount to four millions, *and they cannot be sent away, for the sufficient reason that VOLUNTARILY THEY WILL NOT GO.* Free or slave, they prefer to remain where they are. Among the free blacks of the North, the Colonization Society has long been setting forth the advantages of their quitting the useless strife for equal position with the whites, and telling them how much better it would be for them to go back to the country of their fathers—where the abilities of such black men as Roberts and Benson have already shown that their intellectual powers are equal to the founding and governing of a nation. How eloquently have Crummell and others shown them that they may not only acquire wealth and position, but benefit their race, and serve humanity at large, by going thither to join and aid their brethren! Yet how few have listened to the appeal; and, as regards the sending of the slaves of the South to Liberia (a few instances to the contrary), we find that they are unwilling to go, even when masters are willing to send them.

Said a Virginian chambermaid to me in 1832, when I asked her "What do your people think about the new plan of your being sent to Liberia?" "Why, they thought well of it at first, and Aunt Flora and her husband, when their master gave them the chance, went with all their children; but, after a year, we had this word from them—that we had better stay and eat grass in old Virginia than to come there." In 1846, during a tour through the slave States, I learned many facts on this and cognate subjects. One which I received from the excellent Judge McGhee, of Woodville, Mississippi, I relate as the representative of a class. "James," said he to a colored servant of middle age, "you have served me faithfully, you have deserved your freedom, and I now offer it to you, advising you to go to Liberia." "Will master go to Li-

beria?" said the servant. "No, James, I cannot leave home." "Then if master can't go, I can't; all I want is to be as I have been, and live with master."

If, then, the servants of good Southern masters are useful, happy, and contented, why are we not to consider that the problem is already solved, and theirs is, in reality, the true position of the American Africans? It might be so, if all masters, like these, were, in their treatment of them, governed by kindness and Christianity, and if death and change were not the order of the world. And, indeed, it is not our voice which would ever alter these affectionate relations between good masters and good servants—who, indeed, ought not to be called slaves and slave-holders—but we wish the whole system to become modified, so that the barbarous laws of slavery, under which the race are liable to great abuses, many actually suffering them, may be abrogated and succeeded by those of a civilized character, in which the true rights of the black man shall be recognized and duly guarded by law. That the African is a man all believe; and what is it but a barbarism to say, as has been said, that he has not a right in this country which the white man is bound to respect? That the husband has no right to his wife; the father and mother no right to the child; that all fathers, mothers, and children, though accustomed to indulgences, may be taken, should they chance to lose the best of masters, or he become poor, and sold separately into distant lands; or, still worse, when the slave-collector, sent by the spirit of gain, comes to buy human herds for some hard service in distant, unhealthy lands, these plantation slaves may then be collected and penned up like cattle for a fair; and how is manhood degraded when the slave is set up on a block and shown off to be sold as a chattel to the highest bidder! and childhood is there—and womanhood—thrice degraded!

If we would purge away slavery by taking from the

laws the gross faults by which they are deformed, it is not that the watchful care which the good master affords to his servant, and which his dependent spirit and improvident nature make him need, should be destroyed; nor yet that the master should be deprived of his right to the services of a race whom otherwise he could not provide for or protect; but that there should be limitations to this power made by law; and guards fixed which shall shield the negro in case of the death or poverty of his master, as well as against his abuses—in fine, to use the language of the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, that “masters should become guardians of their slaves, and extend over them a parental government;” and that *the race* be thus raised from the condition of slavery to that of *a regulated servitude*; and this on the principle that, though the master owns the time, according to restrictions of law, yet he does not own the man—he belongs to God. This we believe would place the negroes in their true position; and it is exactly the one which every good master, and especially every good minister, at the South would desire to see established by law, and by which, if it were established, the South would be honored, and humanity everywhere would rejoice. We are persuaded that this change is possible, and that it might be brought about by a tribunal composed of the best minds of such American statesmen as are thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the country and the character of the race to be dealt with; and we say this in the confident hope that, *if such a change were cordially entered upon by the South*, it would form the basis of a permanent settlement of the great question at issue between the North and the South, and eventually bring improvement and happiness to the colored race; whereas, we believe that to emancipate them, in their present condition, would be likely to result, first in misery and confusion, and next in their final extermination.

Here we wish to meet, by facts, an anticipated objection from those who maintain that the negro is wronged unless he has absolute freedom. Two wealthy slave-holders of Virginia, becoming conscientiously imbued with the opinion that they were then living in the commission of sin, emigrated with their slaves to Western New York, and together purchased a fine tract of land on one of the most beautiful lakes in the State. They laid it out into small farms, and built comfortable houses for the negroes, with places for worship and instruction. Here the liberated slaves were to enjoy their paradise of freedom. But, alas ! they managed ill, and were neither prosperous nor happy. And, although at first their benefactors would wind them up whenever they ran down, yet they at length became discouraged, and convinced that their labors were hopeless, and they must abandon their generous scheme as a failure.¹

The abolition of the mild form of slavery which existed in New England and New York at and after the Revolution, was an honest outburst of alarmed conscientiousness. But, with facts as they now stand developed, it may fairly be questioned whether it did not produce, especially to the negroes, injury where good was intended. The venerable Stephen Van Rensselaer, former Patroon of Albany, mourned in his later days for the share he had taken in it; for he said, "There were then forty of these home-servants to the manor born, and I have lived to see every one of them go into the gutter."² So said the late Colonel Van Ness, formerly of New York, respecting the colored dependants of the wealthy and extensive family to which he belonged; and so have said many others.

¹ This account the writer had orally from General Swift, an inhabitant of Geneva at the time.

² For the truth of this fact I refer to the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of Albany.

And here we remark, as accounting in part for the differences of opinion which prevail among us on the African question, that a singular and unaccountable difference exists among the individual negroes of the African tribes. The characteristic of the masses, as shown by Dr. Livingstone and others, is unquestioning obedience to their chiefs. But whence come the chiefs, endued, as they are, with the vast knowledge and extensive cares which appertain to their governments? Above all, many of these chiefs have the mental element of a great will, and they exercise it without any touch of conscientiousness. Dr. Livingstone asked Matiamuo why he sent to such a great distance for certain of his subjects. "To kill them," was the answer of the chief. "There are too many of them, and I want to thin them out." Yet, though suspecting his cruel designs, his subjects would follow their instinct of obedience, and come when he sent for them. This difference between the chief and his subjects among Africans seems to me as difficult to be accounted for as royalty among the bees. And if, in the guardianship of a master over them, he should find indications that there are among them any born for *queen bees*, their aspirations for freedom should be encouraged, for otherwise they would be likely to become dangerous. These ideas may be somewhat visionary, but, that great inequality in the genius and talents of the race exists, none can doubt. Those who possess superior abilities are all needed in Liberia, and let them be helped thither. In Canada they make an unwholesome population.

The former part of this subject has addressed itself to the South; this last part we address to the North. The fortunes of war have thrown a large number of Southern slaves into the hands of the Government. What is to be done with them? Will not the President and Congress appoint commissioners to find for them that position which

in all righteous dealing shall be decided to be for them the happiest and most useful? They could not be sent to Liberia unless, by previous training, they had become fitted to be good citizens there; otherwise, as was the case with the captured negroes already sent, their board and teaching must first be paid for. If the liberated slaves on the cultivated banks of Seneca Lake could not, with all the appliances furnished them by their kind benefactors, make headway for themselves, surely the Government would not be so cruel as to set them free without any guardian care over them. If they do, the Northern States will soon be following the example of Illinois and others, and making cruel laws to keep out all Africans. What, then, remains but that you, my brethren and sisters, Christian patriots and philanthropists of the North, should be appealed to; that, regarding these contrabands, you, according to your ability and the situation of your families, each take one or two of them, perhaps a married pair, to your homes, and thus let us divide the responsibility which rests upon us, that they shall be cared for, and their children duly instructed; then in ten or fifteen years, for their improvement requires time, they will become fitted to go to Liberia, and will have earned from you the means; which of course the government agents, who would on this supposition have bound them to you, will see that you are under legal obligations to perform. But if, in the mean time, your contrabands, having it at their option to go, prefer staying with you, as your permanent, faithful, and attached servants, you to support them until death, we see no reason why in this case laws should not be made to sanction the arrangement; and, if sound and able minds were employed to make the laws under which the African may, at the North, find his true position, not of slavery, for we repudiate the word and the thing, but of a regulated servitude to a guardian master or mistress, we see no rea-

son why these might not thus find what they cannot depend on in their present system—the comfort and respectability of permanent and contented servants. The American of Revolutionary descent is no one's servant but his own—and happy were those families where, in the simplicity of the olden time, the mother and daughters served themselves and their families. But increase of wealth, with the influx of foreigners, has changed these times, and now the unreliableness of domestic servants is the common complaint of Northern house-keepers—and not without reason.

The foreigners, on whom we must rely, having in view ultimate independence, generally stay with us but a short season; and, while they remain, how few of us are there who have been fortunate enough so to attach them to ourselves that the interests of their own kindred will not be preferred to ours! And many a tenderly-educated Northern woman, brought, by a wealthy and hospitable husband, as a happy bride to a magnificent home, falls a sacrifice to the consequent want of permanent domestic arrangements. She finds herself at some unfortunate moment, when her house is filled with guests, with not a single servant. Her ambition to please her husband, and make his house acceptable to his friends, obliges her to tax herself to fill their several vacant offices. Nature, unused to the effort, revolts, and she either dies, or lives a miserable invalid. And, if such a one should yet remain on earth, what could her wealthy husband, with his extensive accommodations, do so well as to take to his home some of these contrabands, who could be supervised and taught by a mistress, who could thus have been brought to appreciate and love them for their useful domestic virtues?

American families, who see that all which is here stated is true, might yet hesitate, fearing that European nobility might denounce them as having slaves to “fan them,” etc. But our regulated system of colored servitude would be no

more slavery than that service to which they constantly hold the hereditary servants of their own national blood; nor would you keep them at a greater distance, or more hold your families disgraced by intermarriages with servants than do they. Yet these English homes are regarded throughout the world as the abodes of comfort and elegant enjoyment; and this cannot be except where there are permanent servants, knowing each their several places, and contented with their own condition.

We do not wish to intermeddle with English servitude; neither do we desire their interference with ours. Their fathers, as allowed by Providence, forced the African race upon us; and their statecraft has long, for the bad purpose of dividing us, because "the safety of Europe requires it," sought, and not vainly, to sow hatred and dissension among us; and now, regardless of all we must suffer, both North and South, fearing to lose the ultimate end of their efforts, their money, and their emissaries—the division of our republic—now they talk of acknowledging the independence of the South, on the condition that the South shall set free their African domestics! thus introducing confusion and misery into their homes, and probably causing the ultimate destruction of the dependent race, whom they have long loved as their faithful and devoted servants.

Daughters of the South! plead with your sons and husbands, and avert these horrors while yet you may. Turn not away from your kindred of the North, whose blood flows intermingled with yours in a thousand channels, and whose memories of past national glories must forever be identified with yours. Although you have hated them, it was because you have been deceived, and falsely persuaded that they wished to bring that ruin upon your homes which, it would seem, you are now preparing to bring upon them yourselves. Yet the North has never hated you. If she has waged war, she entered upon it against her will, be-

cause she had no other means to keep us all from worse than Mexican anarchy. Oh, then, relent, and no longer allow this cruel hatred to fill your hearts. Save your country! save yourselves—your families—and doom not to destruction that affectionate race, who, if we all treat them as we ought, and no longer injure them by our dissensions, may yet become more happy and more elevated in mind and character than ever before; and, *if placed* and sustained in their TRUE POSITION, they may yet become an element of strength and increased civilization to a redeemed and renovated nation.

EMMA WILLARD.

BALTIMORE, *May* 23, 1862.

After the publication of her "*Via Media*," Mrs. Willard wrote nothing of importance, although she contemplated writing a history of the war, but was dissuaded from it from her great age and the complicated nature of the subject. In 1863 she also contemplated a visit to London, but was also persuaded to abandon it by her friends, although she had high aims in view. The reluctance with which she abandoned the project may be inferred from a letter to Mrs. Phelps, her most confidential friend, and by whom she was much influenced:

"Now, as I have ceded to your wishes so far as to delay, if not wholly to abandon, my project of going to England, I hope you will think I am good, and behave *yourself* accordingly. But, since it would be a pity, after the steam is up, and the engine all ready to move forward for grand objects, to let it puff off, and no use be made of it, I am thinking this morning (May 27, 1863) that I will try whether it will not be available to move my mind to write here, in this heavy atmosphere of unfaith, a work to be published in New York, and perhaps simultaneously in London, made such a one as I would write in undis-

turbed retirement in England, where, if I had had nothing to encourage me, I should at least have had no disheartening unbelief to contend with. One form of this unbelief is the impression, so clearly conveyed in this letter of yours, that, through age, I have lost my power" (she was then seventy-six). "In England the prime-minister, Lord Palmerston, is several years older than I. My health is better than it was last year, when I wrote, at your house, my '*Via Media*.' I have this past winter been reading the London *Times*. These things I say to encourage you to feel that, if I do write, I shall not write ignorantly. For the last ten years I have been devoted to American history. I believe that, when the part I have taken to make peace is known, I should find more favor in England than even Mr. Seward or Mrs. Beecher Stowe. You may think my views are visionary. Perhaps they are, and perhaps they are not. But one thing is certain—I have had experience and observation of national affairs through a long course of years, and I am warranted in saying, not a mere sandy soil, where the miners, when its contents were thrown out, found nothing but dirt, but occasionally a lump, larger or smaller, of some precious metal. One of these, hammered out, became the Troy Female Seminary, and another the *theory of circulation*. Now, some of these lumps I still have by me, and I think the most important duty which remains to me is to work them out, and forge them so that they may not be allowed to perish."

Such were the noble sentiments of this stout-hearted woman at an age when most people seek repose and rest. But she did not rest. She wrote at this time numerous letters, she planned future labors, and she travelled from place to place. In one of her journeys from Baltimore, 1864, she was taken captive by the rebels, but was treated by her captors with great consideration and respect, and was neither harmed nor robbed, as many others were. I

regret that there is no room for the insertion of her letter to her niece, Myra Phelps, giving the details of that capture, and which was published in the newspapers of the day.

The following is a letter to Governor Gilmer, alluding to that adventure, and also her plan of writing the history of the war for her school-edition :

“TROY, *March 24, 1866.*

“HON. JOHN A. GILMER.

“DEAR SIR: Long and sadly has our correspondence been interrupted; but, judging yourself and dear, excellent Mrs. Gilmer by myself, there has been no interruption in heart-felt friendship. . . .

“For myself my health is good; but then, as my blessed mother used to say, ‘it is *old* health;’ and it is ten years the older for this needless civil war. I was myself captured, on my way from Baltimore, on the 11th of July, 1863, when the railroad-train was captured by Harry Gilmer, just beyond the Gunpowder River, and my health suffered by my walk, in the middle of a hot day, to get back to the water, and take a boat to carry me to the steamboat which took me to Havre de Grace. But, in spite of my age, I have now undertaken a heavy task—perhaps one where success is impossible—but, if I have a call from God and can execute, what in its performance shall please Him I shall never regret. It is to write up, to the present time, my American history for schools, my publisher having calls from the North and the South, especially the South. The writers of school histories, of which there are plenty at the North, have offended Southern educationists, and some of them have asked especially for my book. And I think the work of reconstruction (a blessed work, which I think Andrew Johnson had well begun, till he was stopped by this *obstruction* Congress) will go on naturally, if they will on both sides let ‘truth and love

breathe peace,' according to the words of a national hymn, which I will enclose to you, hoping you will be found in health and spirits to sing it with your blessed wife, to whom I desire my love a thousand times over.

"By-the-way, allow me, dear sir, to make an inquiry of you concerning Bedford Brown, who made a speech in the Senate of your State on the 19th of November, 1860—the day when the Secession Convention were in session at Columbia—the day before that in which, at Charleston, they passed the ordinance of secession. His speech chances to be in my hands, and it so thoroughly expresses my own views of the situation all round at the time, that I thought of making a short synopsis of it for the library edition of my history (not for the school history or abridgment); but in that case I should hope he might be a man of dignity of character and position, and of this I know nothing. I shall anxiously expect a letter from you or dear Mrs. Gilmer soon. Your much-attached friend,

"EMMA WILLARD."

The ode thus alluded to is the following, of which she need not be ashamed, written at the early period of the war—the second year, when all was so dark :

NATIONAL HYMN.

BY EMMA WILLARD.

God save America !
 God grant our standard may,
 Where'er it wave,
 Follow the just and right,
 Foremost be in the fight,
 And glorious still in might
 Our own to save.

Chorus—Father Almighty,
 Humbly we crave,
 Save Thou America,
 Our country save !

God keep America—
 Of nations great and free,
 Man's noblest friend :
 Still with the ocean bound
 Our continent around,
 Each State in place be found,
 Till time shall end.

Chorus—Father Almighty,
 Humbly we crave,
 Save Thou America,
 Our country save !

God bless America—
 As in our fathers' day,
 So evermore !
 God grant all discords cease,
 Kind brotherhoods increase,
 And truth and love breathe peace.
 From shore to shore !

Chorus—Father Almighty,
 Humbly we crave,
 Save Thou America,
 Our country save !

In these last years of labor Mrs. Willard was much assisted by Mrs. Burr, afterward Mrs. Burleigh, who seemed to have entertained for her the profoundest respect and admiration. The following letter from her husband, Mr. Burleigh, is a noble testimony to her character, which is worthy of an insertion here, considering the relations between Mrs. Willard and her friend for so many years :

“BROOKLYN, *September 4, 1865.*

“TO MADAM WILLARD, *Troy, N. Y.*

“MY DEAR MADAM : Before I come to Troy to claim my wife at your hands, the respect and gratitude which your character and your goodness command from me, impel me to write to you, to thank you for all your kindness and

generosity to Mrs. Burr during the past three years. Your roof has, indeed, proved to her 'a shelter from the heat and a covert from the storm.' I am sure that she has never found a kinder, a more considerate, or a more generous friend. You have, indeed, been to her more than a friend—you have, to use your own expressive language, 'mothered her in the day of her calamity.' As I think of your unnumbered acts of kindness to her, and especially of the fact that, through your friendship, the proper status in society which her talents and her virtues should command, has been accorded to her, my eyes fill with tears, and my heart sends up its prayer to God that He will reward you abundantly for all that you have done for her, directly by your own act, and indirectly by the respect which your character everywhere commands. And He *will* reward you—here, with the consciousness that you have given strength and comfort to a struggling soul; and, in the final day, I reverently believe that He will greet you with that sweetest of all benedictions, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my children, ye have done it unto me.'

"I write without Mrs. Burr's knowledge; but, from many things she has told me of your goodness to her, I am sure that I express her sentiments as well as my own.

"Hoping to see you on Wednesday next, I remain, dear madam,

"Very gratefully your friend and servant,

"WM. H. BURLEIGH."

After Mrs. Burleigh left Troy, the household of Mrs. Willard was presided over by her granddaughter, Sarah Willard, while she pursued her literary labors in her eightieth year. She lived to see the triumphant vindication of her cause, and the Union restored, and the cancer, which was slowly destroying the vitality of the state, cut

out by the rude hand of war—too rudely, perhaps, but a necessity called for by the circumstances of the times. The letters she wrote after the close of the war are gentle, patriotic, and loving, showing the excellences of her heart and character, but they are not sufficiently striking to be inserted in this biography. Her work was drawing *to a close*. Yet her journal shows that she was still diligently at work on her history, which she completed; and it also shows a large correspondence with the prominent generals and statesmen of the war. Perhaps at no period of her life were her literary labors greater. And she still made visits to her friends, as well as wrote them letters. She attended church with great regularity, though she was now obliged to ride. Her diary, the last year of her life, still notes the sermons she heard on Sunday. She has noted, in her diary, every sermon she heard the last thirty years of her life. Latterly she attended St. Paul's Church, in Troy, of which the Rev. Dr. Coit was rector, but St. John's was the church dearest to her heart, even after an unfortunate disagreement, or misunderstanding, or quarrel, whatever name it goes by, had driven her away. I find that she attended lectures and the examinations at the seminary with as much interest as she took twenty years before. She never lost her taste for reading, or her interest in public affairs. Until the year before she died, her correspondence was extensive and varied, showing activity of mind, if not the power of sustained labor. Her diary is fuller in 1867 than in 1859. She still took long drives, and received visits from friends, and read new books which were famous. Every Sunday evening she collected around her hospitable board her children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and perhaps nephews, and nieces, and intimate friends, and heard them repeat passages of Scripture. This was a habit of many years, and beautiful were those family reunions; but the most beautiful thing about them

was the venerable figure of the benignant old lady entering into every subject of interest with the sympathy of youth, and receiving from all the profoundest reverence and respect. I have never seen more impressive family gatherings.

Thus orderly, harmoniously, honorably, happily, did the old lady, when eighty years had rolled over her life, pass her declining days. I see no particular change in her handwriting until a year before she died. Her diary shows unabated interest in every thing around her even in 1869, with increased serenity and amiability. In 1867 she attended the examinations of the seminary, in the warm weather of the latter days of June, and remaining in the room from four to five hours at a time. As late as April, 1869, I find her making visits in New York, at the age of eighty-two, and even to Baltimore, and attending church. She was present at the examination of the seminary in June. She made calls, and took drives, and wrote letters, and received visits, and read books, throughout the year. I find her reading Liddon's "Bampton Lectures" in January, 1870. The last entry in her diary is on April 6th, when she speaks of reading the newspaper. She died April 15th, at the age of eighty-three, worn out at last, after a life of usefulness and happiness, honored and beloved by all classes, and by a numerous circle of friends.

Numerous are the letters written to the family, in reference to her labors and character, after she had entered upon her rest. Rev. Mr. Buckingham, long a clergyman at Troy, writes: "I always felt, when I was talking with her, that I was holding intercourse with a thoroughly pure and disinterested woman, deserving of great honor and my love." Bishop Doane says: "I may almost say that I was born to revere your mother's noble name in my father's house. She was never mentioned without honor; and, as a pioneer in this country of a higher and better tone in the

education of women, he always held her in the highest veneration." Mrs. Judge Kellogg, who knew her intimately for fifty years, writes: "She has done a great work; its full value is not yet appreciated." Bishop Huntingdon writes: "What a remarkable life this was that is now ended! How far and into how many different regions the lines of elevating and beneficent influence ran out from it! What untiring energy, practical wisdom, comprehensive sagacity, patient labor! What intellectual vigor, versatility, activity! What moral dignity and Christian consecration! What a monument she has left—threefold, in the institution she founded, in the work she committed to the press, in the hearts and characters of her great hosts of pupils!" Rev. Dr. Kennedy, a clergyman in Troy for many years, thus writes: "Her life-work was a noble one, and right nobly hath she accomplished it. The women of our land have abundant occasion to revere her memory, and no doubt the benedictions of numberless hearts are this day resting upon her honorable grave." The *Evening Post*, in a fine obituary notice, says: "She was the first person in the United States to give effectual and practical force to the long-felt want of a higher standard of culture in female schools. More than a generation ago she put forth, with profound conviction, principles and methods of female education which were generally regarded as extravagant and even fanatical, but which are now universally accepted." Professor Charles Davies, at a convocation at Albany, pays this tribute: "Mrs. Willard brought to her great work a mind as clear and comprehensive as the light of noonday, and a spirit as soft and gentle as the shades of evening. Her enthusiasm in the improvement and elevation of her sex filled her soul and inspired her life. For this she lived—for this she labored; and the fruits of that life and of those labors are scattered broadcast through the whole country and through two generations.

“Her great and special gift was her power of influencing and controlling others. This was not done by little arts and petty devices; wisdom and justice were the foundations of her government—sympathy and love the secrets of her power. It is the attribute of genius to impress itself upon others; and, if Mrs. Willard be judged by this standard, she certainly had few equals. Her pupils, everywhere, bear the impress of their great educator. Trained to exact and severe thought, they analyze with logical accuracy. Inspired with the sentiment that life has duties which must be done, they do not waste it in frivolities. Having been taught, by precept and example, that home is the sphere and throne of woman, they fill that home with the precious joys of intelligence, peace, and love.

“Within the past year Mrs. Willard has gone to her rest, and taken her place in history among the great minds and noble hearts of the nation. The time and place of her death are alike suggestive.

“In the fulness of age, she approached the termination of life with the calmness of Christian philosophy and the faith of a true believer. When the last hour came, the final struggle was marked by fortitude and resignation, and the twilight of one life was but the morning rays of another. The place of her death was the old seminary building of Troy. Here, half a century ago, she founded an institution which has been an honor to our age and country. Here she taught the true philosophy of living and dying—works done in faith, and faith made practical in works. Here she inspired thousands of her own sex, for the common benefit of us all, with an ardent love of knowledge, with a profound reverence for the great truths of religion, and with the aspiration of duty to be done; and here she impressed upon them the nobility of her own nature.

“Her grave has been fitly chosen. It is in the Oakwood Cemetery, on a beautiful knoll, overlooking the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk. Below lies the city of Troy, marking, in solemn contrast, the habitations of the living and the dead. Here rest the earthly remains of a great, good, and noble woman. The city of Troy, which she loved, and which has greatly honored her, is entitled to have her ashes; but the whole country has her fame, and posterity will gather in the many fruits of her labors. When the enthusiasts in the cause of female education shall visit her grave, they will not strew it with flowers that fade and perish, but with the garlands of affectionate memories, that will never die.”

Many more extracts might be cited in honor of Mrs. Willard's character and services. But they all point to the same leading facts; they all express the same sentiments. They render honor to her character for sweetness, amiability, and gentleness—those glorious feminine traits which endear women to mankind; and also for those higher and nobler qualities of will and intellect by which she exercised a powerful influence over other minds, and gained the confidence and respect of all who knew her, and gave an impulse to female education such as no other woman ever has done; and, still higher, those Christian virtues which embalm memories in the heart of the world.

All these notices allude to her great services in the cause of female education. It is by these she will be judged. Other things she did, but these do not receive the same universal verdict. And these were honorable and useful, like her scientific theories, her efforts in behalf of the Greeks, and her patriotic labors to secure the peace and unity of the country in a crisis of extreme danger. All these will be gratefully remembered. But her services to education—these are as indisputable as they were beneficent, and can only be measured by the greatness of the

cause itself. Whenever, in future generations, the names of illustrious benefactors are mentioned for the admiration or gratitude of the world, this noble woman will take a prominent place among those who have given dignity to the character and mind of woman.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WRITINGS OF MRS. WILLARD.

HITHERTO we have treated Mrs. Willard as a woman, as a teacher, and as a philanthropist. We have now to present her services as an author. She wrote and published many books and pamphlets, some of which have had a large circulation. Her writings may be divided into three classes: Educational, Scientific, Poetical.

Mrs. Willard became an author at an early period. In 1819 she wrote her plan for improving female education, addressed to the Legislature of New York, which was favored and indorsed by Governor Clinton. This was when she was thirty-two years of age—fifty-one years before she died. As so much has been said of this plan already, we pass it by with a brief notice. It has, however, been generally regarded as so able and comprehensive, that it has been printed entire in the proceedings of the convocation of officers of colleges and academies, held at Albany in 1869, and in the last catalogue of the seminary she founded, and so successfully and honorably conducted after she committed it to the charge of her children.

Her next work, published in 1822, was a geography

for schools, which has gone through many editions, and was much esteemed in its day. This work was the result of the combined labors of William Chauncey Woodbridge and Emma Willard. The latter, it would seem, wrote that part of it pertaining to ancient geography. In connection with it, she also published an ancient atlas. These works were written to supply a want, then felt, of a good geography for schools. As a school-book, the merits of this work were generally acknowledged. Woodbridge and Willard soon found powerful competitors in Olney and Mitchell. It is said that the geography of the latter cost the publishers eighty thousand dollars to introduce into schools; but it made the fortune of the house. Mrs. Willard's work was published before the systematic competition of publishers commenced, and before they had learned the arts of introducing books into schools; and hence its large circulation may be regarded as a greater evidence of merit than if it were published in these enterprising times. In this work she aimed to adapt accepted knowledge to the capacity of youth, and in a way best adapted to develop intellectual powers and desire of knowledge. In this she succeeded, and her success was rewarded. For several years this geography was the one most generally in use.

After the geography was launched upon the world, when she was comparatively a young woman, her next task was to prepare a history of her own country. This was issued in 1828, with an historical atlas, and was more needed than even her geography.

Mrs. Willard tells us, in the preface of this work, that it owed its existence to accident rather than to design. "My thoughts being directed to improvements in education, I have arranged for my pupils a series of maps of the United States, illustrating their geographical situation at certain epochs, and combining such historical events as

were capable of being delineated on a map. Classes were instructed on this plan, and brought forward to public examination. It then occurred to me that I might be able, by various inducements, to command the time and talents of certain of my former pupils, now my intimate friends. I procured the standard authors on American history, laid down my plan, and employed my assistants in its execution, reserving to myself the entire liberty of adding, subtracting, or altering, either in style or matter, whenever I should think proper."

It was thus that the "Republic of America" first appeared.

A second edition was soon called for, since it had very uncommon merits. I do not know how far Mrs. Willard was assisted by the labors of friends, which she speaks of in the preface, but the book bore the impress of her own mind. She had a natural love of history, and especially of American history. And I know of no woman in the land who was so well acquainted with the events and characters of her country as she was, or any man, indeed, with a few exceptions. The book received great commendation, and has been the most extensively used. I say nothing of style or arrangement. It is enough to say that its general merits have been appreciated by the most discriminating critics, and that, in some years, the circulation extended to thirty thousand copies. Seldom has contemporaneous history received a higher indorsement, from men most qualified to judge, than this work of Mrs. Willard. A letter from Lafayette to the author indorses the history of the Revolutionary War. Daniel Webster, than whom no man better understood the whole history of his country, thus writes, in a letter to the author, dated from that Senate-Chamber whence his words went forth to the confines of civilization: "I cannot better express my sense of the value of your history of the United States than by

saying I keep it near me as a book of reference, accurate in facts and dates." On sending the same to Henry Clay, with a letter inquiring of him if he was satisfied with the synopsis of his great speech, his written answer was, "Perfectly." Mr. Dickinson, late of the United States Senate, says, in a letter to the author, "I have given your sheets an attentive perusal, and can find no suggestion of error to communicate. Having been an actor in the scenes so vividly sketched, I am cheerful to declare that I find them truthful and complete." John Willard, late of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, whose upright and fearless decisions are known far beyond its limits, thus writes to the author: "So far as my recollection serves me, these chapters are in conformity with the first great law of historic composition—TRUTH. Your reflections on the various events recorded are eminently just; and your views of the late antislavery question correspond with those of the most enlightened statesmen of our country." John McLean, the eminent statesman and jurist, whose knowledge and candor none would either dare or desire to impeach, thus writes: "I have looked over your sketches, forwarded for my perusal and examination, and I FIND NO ERRORS TO CORRECT."

This history gives evidence of the workings of her own mind more than any other school-books which she published. It is more fresh, vivid, interesting, and compact, than any other of her histories. It was subjected to repeated revisions at different periods of her life, and was brought down to the events which transpired in her own latter days. It is the result of great labor and great care, and is admirably adapted to kindle the patriotic sentiments of youth, and to instil the principles of moral wisdom which may be traced from a survey of great examples. In writing this book, originally compiled from reliable authors, she held extensive correspondence with American states-

men. The latter portion was drawn from original sources, and is a statement of the events which transpired under her own notice. As this book was written with more care and spirit than any other of her histories, it is pleasant to record that it has been the most successful, and has lasted longer as a text-book.

The next publication for the use of schools which Mrs. Willard issued was a "Universal History," published in 1837. This is a larger and more elaborate work, in the preparation of which she was kindly assisted by Miss Aldis, afterward Mrs. Judge Kellog. It is a most difficult thing to condense into one small octavo the history of our race, of all countries, of heroes and benefactors, of all the great enterprises and events of four thousand years. Yet teachers expect this, and hence all universal histories are meagre and uninteresting—a mere record of dates and names. I do not know of any thing which requires more true historic genius than the compression of the leading events and a description of the leading characters of the past two thousand years, in a small book, so as to be comprehended by students, and yet afford interest to teachers. Of one thing I am persuaded, that such a book should not aim to present every thing. It would be drier than a dictionary, and not more suggestive. A history should be suggestive, and instructive, and interesting, at the same time. It should not weary and oppress the mind. It should not make too great demand on the memory. It should leave out more subjects and characters than it treats. It should not be a compendium. But the great ideas, character, passions and events, which have had an important bearing on the progress of the race, on civilization, should alone be touched. All the rest should be left a blank, to be filled up by the pupil when the time comes and the taste comes for historical reading—a sort of reading the least sought in this generation. When some one, able to grasp

these salient points, to climb these mountain-tops, arises, who is willing to be useful rather than renowned as a literary man, then he can find no higher and nobler work than to describe in simple language, and in few words, the great objects of attraction which he surveys from a lofty height. Then History will become a revered and popular guide, not a dry, tedious, pedantic, pretentious teacher, as she at present too often and generally is. But no such work of art is likely to be popular, or even accepted, without more "pushing" than publishers are willing to give to works of this class. And, since no author can manufacture brains in a teacher's skull, things must go on, I suppose, as they have from the beginning.

I have no data, from letters, of the amount of sales of the "Universal History." Of course, there would be less demand for such a work, whatever be its merits, than for a history of the United States. It could only be used in a few schools, and those, seminaries for the education of teachers. It is too large for common schools, being nearly six hundred pages, in octavo form, with close print—indeed, quite a book, and which involved an immense toil, all the more creditable amid innumerable cares and duties. Such a book, of course, could only be an abridgment from other authors, since it takes a lifetime to write any one period, or the history of any one country, or even the life of any world-renowned character, from original manuscripts and documents, as Froude has written the history of the reign of Elizabeth, not as Goldsmith wrote his history of England—a model for all abridgments so far as the creation of interest is concerned. Perhaps it would not be audacious in me to point out both the merits and the defects of this large and elaborate book, but, in so doing, I should assume the province of critic and reviewer, rather than biographer required to deal only in facts, and to avoid irrelevant matter, which I have wished to avoid.

To return to the "Universal History:" it has been commended by competent judges, and has been extensively used. Respecting it, I find the following letter from Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, ex-Senator of Congress:

"BOSTON, *September* 10, 1855.

"MY DEAR MADAM: I thank you for a copy of your 'Last Periods of Universal History.' I have examined it with great interest and satisfaction.

"I remember well having originally procured a copy of your 'History of the United States' at the suggestion of Mr. Webster, who told me that its marginal references and dates had been of the greatest convenience to him, and that he rarely travelled without it.

"In the little work before me, I am glad to observe that you have pursued the same excellent system.

"Believe me, dear madam, very respectfully, your obliged and obedient servant,

"ROBERT C. WINTHROP."

Also the following from Judge McLean:

"CINCINNATI, *October* 3, 1851.

"MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

"MY DEAR MADAM: I have looked over your historical sketches, which you very kindly forwarded for my perusal and examination; and, as I find no errors to correct, in the view you have taken or the facts stated, I am relieved from troubling you in that particular. Your design, I perceive, is to trace the leading events without going into detail, and I think you have been fortunate in attaining your object.

"This work, I have no doubt, will add to the enviable reputation you now possess for your literary benefactions,

as a writer and an instructor. And I hope that the evening of your life will be as tranquil and happy as its meridian has been useful. You have done so much for the present and succeeding generations, that you are safe with posterity.

“With the greatest respect, very truly yours,

“JOHN McLEAN.”

Besides this large work on universal history, Mrs. Willard prepared various smaller ones, with various names, to teach pupils in common schools the rudiments of history. Her “Historic Guide,” in connection with her “Temple of Time,” is as valuable as it is original in plan and execution. And it has received from teachers high commendation. With the aid of charts, the eye takes in at a glance the great epochs and names which history relates, and it would seem to be practically useful. Mrs. Willard prepared several of these charts or tables to assist in the teaching both of chronology and history. How far these have been used in schools, I do not know; but, whenever they have been used, they have been found useful.

One of the last school-books which Mrs. Willard has written is called “Astronography,” or “Astronomical Geography.” This was published in 1853 or 1854, and is a work of elementary instruction on astronomy. It is very clear and simple, and facilitates the study of the relations of our earth with the principal bodies of its surrounding heavens. It was written with especial reference to the use of globes in teaching astronomy and geography. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, says of it, that “it supplies an important chasm, and is an important service to the cause of education.”

Besides these larger works, which have been so extensively used as text-books in schools and higher seminaries,

Mrs. Willard has published many addresses of an educational character which it is not necessary to enumerate, and others with a view to the improvement of the morals of youth. Her "Morals for the Young" was published in 1857, which is the last of her principal works, written when she was seventy. It is a book of about two hundred pages, intended to illustrate the dark ways of folly in contrast with the bright ways of wisdom. It also contains various moral stories. It instils good principles of action, and upholds religion. As a work of literary merit, it does not, however, rank with her histories or her letters.

The next class of her writings was scientific. Her treatises on "Respiration" and "Motive Power" were written when she was suffering great mental depression, about the year 1849.

This is a subject beyond my powers of criticism, from inadequate scientific knowledge. Accordingly, all I can do is to present this theory historically rather than critically, give as clear an exposition of it as I can, and as fairly also, in justice to Mrs. Willard, who attached great importance to it, and who honestly regarded it as a great discovery. Nor was she alone in this view. Many scientific journals, and physicians, as well as friends, have indorsed her views, which, to say the least, are ingenious, and such as few women could have advanced.

Nor was she the first who wrote upon the subject. It is an old and fruitful one. The respiratory and circulatory functions attracted the notice and study of physicians from a remote period, and have been a study ever since. Certainly the subject has perplexed anatomists and physiologists from Harvey to Paxton. "The general relation between the respiratory and circulatory functions has long been known. It is unquestionably the main office of the lungs to effect that change in the blood which constitutes the difference between venous and arterial blood; and that

the sole office of the right side of the heart is to transmit the blood to the lungs for the purpose of this change." This general truth is universally accepted, I suppose, even as it has long been a subject of research. As far back as Galen, the right auricle of the heart was called the *ultimum moriens*, since, after death, this auricle was found to palpitate with the remains of life, and to be filled with blood. With the knowledge of such a fact, it is surprising to me that the doctrine of the circulation of the blood should have remained unknown till the time of Harvey. Since his day, however, it is an accepted and fundamental truth that the blood *does* circulate through the veins and arteries; also, that it passes or flows from the heart to all parts of the body through the arteries, and then returns through the veins to the lungs, when, by contact with the air, by means of respiration, the blood undergoes a change salutary to the system; and, indeed, without this renovation, death would result; so that respiration and circulation of the blood are vitally and intimately related.

Such are the general truths, or rather facts, which are universally accepted. But what causes the blood to circulate? What is the force which propels the blood through the arteries?

The opinion generally prevalent is, that it is the contraction of the muscles of the heart—a *mechanical* force, which forces the blood through the system. Whence otherwise the pulsations of the heart? or why should the blood, when an artery is opened, flow not in a steady stream, but in gushes, as it were, in accordance with the pulsations?

Mrs. Willard, on the contrary, maintained that the *ultimate* physical cause which produces the circulation of the blood is chemical, or, in other words, is animal heat, producing an expansive power of the lungs.

This simply is the theory which she sought to establish, and which, she claimed, was a discovery in science. And it cannot be questioned that, if this theory were substantiated and proved by an accumulation of evidence to the satisfaction of the scientific world, then it would be indeed a great discovery, and would shed immortal glory on her name.

Her theory assumes, as a general principle, that, if a fluid is contained in any system of vessels, as the sanguinous system in animals, and if heat be applied at one portion, and the fluid, thus expanded by heat, carried from the heated part and elsewhere condensed, and then return to be warmed anew, that this alternate expansion and condensation is a motive power, which will produce a perpetual circulation, somewhat on the same principle that warm water may be made to circulate through a large factory, by being heated at one part of the pipes. This is the theory she sought to establish in her treatise on circulation and the motive power.

The steps by which she arrived at this theory it may be well to mention before I present an analysis of her theory itself:

As far back as 1832, when founding the seminary, and attending a course of lectures on chemistry, which directed her thoughts to scientific subjects, she was led, one cold morning, while walking briskly up a hill, to ask herself, "Why do I grow warm? Caloric surely cannot be transmitted to me from any object without, because every thing which comes in contact with me is cold. Snow is under my feet, and frosty air surrounds me; and, as to clothes, the softest furs impart no warmth—they but keep from escaping that which comes from within. What other method besides transmission is there of gaining heat? There is the elimination of caloric, when, in substances chemically combining, weight is gained and bulk is lost.

Is there any such combination going on with me? Yes, the atmospheric air, when I inspire it, has oxygen combined with nitrogen; but, when I expire, the oxygen has disappeared, and heavier substances—carbonic-acid gas and watery vapor—are returned in its place. Then, it must be, animal heat is evolved. It is the product of respiration; and it is because I breathe faster and deeper that more carbon is oxidized or burned, and more heat is set free in my lungs; and, therefore, I grow warm as I walk up the hill, though all around me is cold.

“It is into the lungs, and nowhere else, that breathing introduces atmospheric air; and it is there that the oxidation of carbon or animal combustion takes place. Thus must caloric be imparted to the blood in the lungs. The blood in the lungs must, therefore, expand; and, if it expands, it must move; and, if it moves, it must, from the organism of the parts, move to the left ventricle of the heart, into which the valvular system opens to give it a free passage, whereas the valves of the right close against it. ‘Eureka!’ I mentally exclaimed, ‘I have found the *primum mobile* of the circulation of the blood!’”

This deduction, it must be confessed, is logical. I do not profess to have sufficiently accurate scientific knowledge to know whether these successive deductions are in accordance with facts, or whether the *primal* object of respiration be to obtain caloric, which seems to be the basis of the argument. It is enough that I cannot disprove. And, if caloric thus forms so important a part of circulation, I have great admiration of that seedy and needy and hungry philosopher whom I once met in London, who had spent about twenty years in the British Museum investigating the opinions of all ages about caloric, and at last wrote a bulky octavo to prove that caloric

was the *animus mundi*—the source of all life and action—the grand secret in the *arcanum* of Nature—a view, I believe, that some of the founders of ancient Greek philosophy indorsed and advocated. And, if caloric is thus this mighty force, why, may it not be asked, is not caloric generated in other parts of the system as well as the lungs? “Whenever oxygen and carbon unite, heat is developed. . . . And it is imparted to the solids as well as the liquids, and maintains the temperature of the whole body.”

But I will not anticipate any criticism of the theory which Mrs. Willard propounded. It must first be my object to give a fair and impartial, and, if possible, clear account of the theory itself in its relations to chemistry and other sciences.

Her theory, apparently, contradicts entirely the theories heretofore received. It was Harvey's idea that the heart was the *only* organ of circulation. Other distinguished lights of science have believed that the heart is *assisted* by the contractile power of the arteries, by the movement of the chest and ribs in respiration, by capillary attraction, muscular motion in exercise, and several other forces, among which Dr. Draper points out the attraction of the venous blood for the pulmonary cells. That the contractile power of the heart is, however, the main motive power is the received theory, although physiologists differ in their opinions as to this contractive power, it being variously estimated from one hundred and eighty thousand pounds to five ounces.

To advance a totally different theory is Mrs. Willard's object.

Her first proposition is, that blood receives caloric at the lungs. This is supported from the fact, well ascertained, that the animal system absorbs oxygen from the atmosphere, and that this oxygen is again given out in

combination with carbon or hydrogen, which process of oxidation is the source of animal heat. About one-quarter or one-fifth of the blood of the whole body is constantly retained in the lungs, and this is necessarily heated by the union of oxygen with hydrogen.

Secondly, the blood, being thus heated, must expand, since all fluids expand by caloric. According to Dr. Keill, the blood at the lungs receives caloric over a surface equal to the area of a circle whose diameter is nearly seventeen feet. A great quantity of caloric is thus generated by the lungs, which, operating on five pounds of blood at a time, must produce a considerable expansion.

Thirdly, if the blood is thus expanded by heat, it must necessarily move, since there is only a limited space in which the heated blood is contained. This expansion, producing motion, must then be a motive power.

Fourthly, if the blood then moves, or is forced from the lungs by caloric, it must move toward the left ventricle of the heart, through the aorta, and on through the arteries to the extremities.

Such, in substance, is the ingenious theory which Mrs. Willard advanced respecting motive power—a chemical rather than a mechanical force. She does not deny that the contractions of the heart may assist circulation; but she believed that the generation of heat was the main cause.

That this theory is startling is doubtless a fact, and it necessarily provoked comment and controversy, so far as it was brought to the notice of the scientific world. All new theories are startling, whether true or false. This is not more startling, and infinitely more plausible, than the theories of Darwin respecting the origin of the race. This theory certainly did not shock the moral sense of the

world, nor was it an insult to the human understanding. Therefore, it obtained warm advocates and equally strong opposers, although my impression is, that the highest authorities in physiology did not put great value upon it, although she was commended for her ingenuity. Certainly it was a harmless speculation; and, if it could be substantiated, it would directly tend to a different treatment of various diseases, especially the cholera, to which she applied the theory, which disease, she observed, was one of obstruction and coldness.

Nevertheless, the treatise excited some attention from scientific journals, and a host of objections were raised which she was obliged to combat, and at a great disadvantage; for, though she had ingeniously accounted for a great motive power, and showed considerable scientific research and activity of mind, which gained a just applause, she had not mastered the realm of medical science, and could not, therefore, do her system justice, or defend it to the satisfaction of scientific men.

The accepted theory of the motive power of circulation is, as is generally supposed, contractive motion of the heart. Mrs. Willard did not deny that the heart itself is a great motive power; but she asserted that this is only *one* of the powers, the principal one being chemical rather than mechanical.

The admission that there must be two motive powers, one chemical and the other mechanical, was probably in view of the fact that, before birth, there is no respiration, and consequently no chemical power. But she insisted that, *after* birth, the main force was chemical, produced by respiration. She accounted for the return of the blood from the extremities to the lungs, through the veins, by the force of capillary attraction.

It seemed to her absurd that the heart's force, say sixty pounds a second, which is necessary to send the

blood from the ventricles, forming, as it were, a great hammer, moving with a jerky motion upward, and with an equally quick stroke back against the sides, seventy times a minute, could stand, for a series of years, such incessant wear and tear. She maintained that the Wise Architect of the human frame would not have imposed such hard service on the little heart; while heat, gentle in motion as it is strong, could perform the same service.

She supports this view by the authority of some physiologists, who maintain that the heart's action alone is not adequate to produce the circulation. Some have advanced the opinion that the heart has no muscles at all!

In view of this general theory of circulation advanced by Mrs. Willard, it has been admitted, by able scientific men, that heat indeed produces expansion, and consequently circulation—the fundamental principles on which her theory rests; but it has been also advanced that it is indispensably necessary to measure that motion in order to ascertain whether it can produce the quantity of motion experienced in circulation, which never has been done. If so, there are not sufficient facts to warrant the induction. To this objection Mrs. Willard replies that the motive power of the heart has never been satisfactorily ascertained, and hence this objection will apply to the heart's motion as well as to the chemical force.

It was also maintained, by objectors, that, if the carbon of the blood chemically combines with oxygen in the lungs, the heat of the lungs would be much greater than that of any other part of the body; and that a greater difference, in respect to the warmth of the several parts of the body, would occur than we actually find. Mrs. Willard maintained that both facts and principles are at variance with this objection; for, if the animal heat is mostly generated at the lungs, it must, by the laws of transmission, go off from them in all directions, until the heat of

the adjoining organs becomes equal to that of the lungs, and so on, until it is lost by radiation at the surface. It was not maintained by Mrs. Willard that there is no difference, in various parts of the body, in respect to heat. She admitted that the extremities were necessarily colder than the lungs or the trunk. In fact, it is a fundamental principle of her system that the animal heat generated in the lungs must be, in a measure, lost in the extremities.

The fact at issue here is, whether or not every part of the body is of equal temperature? The settlement of this fact is of vital importance in the theory of Mrs. Willard. Dr. Edwards and others maintain the equal temperature of all parts of the body; and Mrs. Willard maintains that the extremities have not the heat of the trunk of the body.

Among the objections to the theory is this: If it be admitted that the temperature of the lungs be so much greater than the other parts of the system as to cause blood to flow from them, ought not the stream to be continued rather than pulsatory? To this Mrs. Willard replies by admitting the pulsative power of the heart, but only as an inferior force. The point at issue, then, between her theory and the generally-received theory is simply a denial, on her part, that the action of the heart is the sole motive power in producing circulation. In other words, she makes respiration assist the heart, or rather the heart simply assist the lungs. The grand seat of motive power is, in her view, in the lungs rather than the heart.

Another inquiry here arises: What causes the blood to return to the lungs, since in them is seated the perpetual cause of its outward or forward motion? This inquiry is answered by Mrs. Willard, by asserting that blood returns exactly on the principle that water returns, in the pipes of

a large building heated by warm water, to the place where it is first heated. If so, venous blood must necessarily be colder than arterial blood. If venous blood is colder, there is great plausibility in her system. If not, there are apparently insurmountable objections to it. And, further, it would seem that the returning blood must be continually being cooled, in order to keep up the analogy of the circulation of water through pipes by heat applied to certain parts.

The theory of Mrs. Willard has suggested another inquiry: If it be an acknowledged fact, by all anatomists, that the heart itself, with the muscular arteries, forms the most powerful muscle in the human system, for what purpose is this muscle designed, if the lungs are the motive power of circulation? This inquiry is answered by Mrs. Willard by admitting that the heart has a pulsative power, but not enough to produce circulation, because too great and disproportionate labor would thus be imposed upon the heart.

Another inquires why dogs, in a hot day, open their mouths and inhale air with great eagerness, in order to make up for the absence of perspiration, which ever cools the surface of the body. If this theory of Mrs. Willard's is true, the more air a dog inhales the hotter he would be, since more caloric would be generated, whereas he seems to be cooler by the process.

Such are some of the more prominent of the objections which have been urged against the theory.

On the other side, Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, who performed certain experiments on an alligator, which were extensively published in the journals of the day, strongly indorsed her theory. The following is his letter. Other authorities might be cited on both sides. But, as I do not undertake to uphold it or oppose it, I leave the question on its merits for the scientific world to confirm or to reject.

"NEW ORLEANS, December 27, 1851.

"MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

"DEAR MADAM: Your esteemed favor of the 12th inst. has been received, and afforded me much pleasure in finding that my communication of the 1st inst., which I took the liberty of addressing to you, was not unwelcome. I am glad to find that no idea of hoax suggested itself to your mind, although I was a little disconcerted on learning from you that some persons, who heard the letter read, supposed it might be a hoax. It was not a commonplace subject, and in treating it I very naturally dropped the commonplace modes of expression. In the opening of the letter you will find a caution against misconstruction, which I thought was sufficient. Dr. Dowler, Professor Forshey, or any other of the gentlemen present, will no doubt indorse my statement of the experiment on the alligator. Professor Forshey is now engaged in a topographical survey of the Mississippi under orders of the United States Government—I do not know exactly where, but not far from the city. I will address him on the subject. Dr. Dowler's theory conflicts with yours, as I informed you. He believes that atmospheric air endows the globules of the blood with a self-locomotory power. According to your theory, it is the caloric evolved that gives the motion. Hence, I do not expect the full concurrence of Dr. Dowler, further than that an experiment was made on an alligator (to use an Irishism), '*deader*' than he had ever seen an animal of that description, and that it came to life under artificial respiration—could not be held, and had to be tied; that it broke loose, and had to be made still more secure. It is probable, however, before I hear from these gentlemen, and have time to send you their responses, that, if you look to the northeast, you will see ample proofs that you have not been hoaxed, and that I am in good sound earnest in advocating the doctrine that the *primum mobile* and chief

motive powers of the blood are located in the lungs, and that the heart performs a very subordinate office in propelling it. On the 23d instant I dispatched to the editor, Dr. Smith, of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, a communication announcing the main proposition in your theory to be no longer a theory, but an important *discovery*, showing its application to useful and practical purposes. In that communication I have attempted to demonstrate that you were not out of your province, as the head of a renowned institution of learning, in turning your attention to the motive powers of the blood, and to the ways and means of making healthy red blood at will, but standing on the broad platform of your profession, directing the building of a permanent basis for it to rest upon throughout all time. In looking for the materials to construct that basis, you naturally looked into physiology to learn the motive powers of the blood; not finding a satisfactory answer there, you brought physiology back to the science of natural philosophy, the parent from which it sprung, giving to it so much new strength and increase (read 'Novum Organum,' Section V., Article 79, for my meaning) as to enable it to conduct you to the hiding-place of the materials you were seeking—a golden fleece more valuable than that of fable. I have endeavored to demonstrate that education in its broadest sense, physical, moral, religious, and intellectual, is intimately and indissolubly connected with red healthy blood, and that, its motive powers not being heretofore known, and erroneously located in an organ of the body the will had no control over, the means the most obvious of depurating the circulating fluids were hidden until you brought them into light; consequently, body, mind, and morals, suffered greatly for the want of that very kind of knowledge which some mysterious power loaded your thinking faculties with, and bid you under pain of conscience carry with fear and trembling

to the storehouse of science and knock for admittance amid the outer guards, armed with scoffs and ridicule—no light task for feminine or even masculine nerves, especially when superadded to that embarrassment is the pity of friends for what they suppose to be a mistake in the door—knocking at the door of medicine instead of that of some other science. You understand me—perhaps others would not. The communication I have sent to Boston is a knock from another quarter to open unto you. I have no idea it will be responded to, and that the door, as you may suppose, will be immediately thrown open. Some hard interrogatories will first be put. I am not altogether unprepared to answer them—and to knock again and again. I thought at first I would with your permission address what I had to say to you, but on reflection I concluded it would be better to speak direct to the medical public. When Luther stood against the errors of Rome single and alone, it was thought that if he had the truth it would die with him, as all the living authorities were against its admission. He awoke antiquity, and soon had a more formidable array of authorities in the Church in support of his opinions than the Romish Church of that day had in opposition to his doctrines. I propose to imitate on a small scale what he did on a large one—it is to awake old authorities in medicine, and interpret them by modern advancement in the sciences. Thus, calorification and something like combustion in the lungs were long ago associated together by the highest authorities in medicine. They became dissociated, from some experiments of Sir Benjamin Brodie on artificial respiration, about a quarter of century before he was knighted. He found that the temperature of recently-killed animals, whose lungs were inflated, was not so high as that of other animals a few hours after death, whose lungs were not inflated. *Ergo*, respiration was a cooling rather than a heating process. This put the world for a long

time on the wrong track in looking for the source of animal heat, erroneously supposing that it had its source in the brain and nerves. Modern improvements in science have recently established the fallacy of seeking for the source of animal heat in the nerves or brain. Modern improvements in science, first made in this city by Dr. Dowler, have established the fact of *post-mortem* caloricity. The fact of the existence of a power heating the body after death was unknown to Brodie. Being now known and admitted, I propose to bring up Sir Benjamin and make his experiments bear testimony to the truth of the main proposition of your theory. When he found the heat less in animals, recently killed, whose lungs were inflated than in those which were let alone, he was not aware of *post-mortem* caloricity, which led him and all the world to suppose that his experiments were conclusive against the lungs being the chief location of those physiological and chemical actions causing animal heat. So far, however, from proving they are not, the proof is the other way. But it is not only man, but the animal creation, I will call to my aid in upholding the doctrine that I have after mature deliberation espoused. Thus, in those lower orders of animals called *Gasteropoda*, there is no heart at all to send the blood to the lungs. The *vena cava*, instead of emptying into a heart, divides, as soon as it reaches the lungs, into arterial branches, which penetrate the lungs as the *vena porta* do the liver. Those animals have, however, one aortic heart. The pulmonary veins empty into it. Now, what gives motion to the blood in those veins? It is commonly supposed that in man the impulse of the right ventricle drives the blood through the pulmonary arteries, and then through the pulmonary veins. But here are animals which have no heart at all to propel the blood into the lungs. But it may be said that these are small, insignificant animals. There is another class of animals,

larger than man, called the *Condeopterygii*. The sturgeon belongs to this order. This is an animal large enough. My first recollections are associated with it. I remember it took a stout horse to pull one of them up the hills on the south side of the Potomac where my first recollections cluster, in the county of Fairfax, where sleeps the father of our country. In after-times, when I came to study human anatomy, and afterward comparative anatomy, when I came to the *Ancipenser* of Linnæus, I found my old acquaintance the *sturgeon*. You will not wonder that I paid particular attention to the anatomy of an animal associated with my earliest recollections. My doing so has given me one small advantage, in upholding your theory, which few possess. The advocates of the doctrine of Harvey, that the left ventricle, in conjunction with the contractility of the arteries, are the only moving powers circulating the arterial blood through the system, will be thrown aback when they come to learn that the sturgeon has no heart at all for circulating the blood through the arterial system, and only a small reservoir or pulmonary heart. After the pulmonary veins leave the lungs, they unite at once with an aorta, without entering into any heart at all. But then the elastic arteries, the supporters of the hypothesis of Harvey would be ready to say, circulate the blood! But what does the anatomy of the sturgeon say? It says the arteries of the sturgeon are cartilaginous and perfectly immovable! How does the blood circulate through them, unless your theory of the motive powers be the true one? Lest some of your friends may say I am jesting, I refer to the sixth volume of 'Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée' de Georges Cuvier (second edition, Paris, 1839, page 354). Speaking of the sturgeon, he says: 'À peine les veines du poulmon s'y sont-elles réunies pour former l'aorte qui celle-ci s'enfonce dans un canal cartilagineux qui lui est fourni par le corps des vertèbres. Elle

semble s'y dépouiller entièrement de ses tuniques, et le sang y coule sans un tuyau à parois absolument immobiles; c'est des trous de ce tuyau, ou canal cartilagineux, que sertant les branches artérielles qui se rendent aux parties.'

"It is not worth while to say more at present, as I only wish to advise you that I have not come up to the subject altogether unprepared to defend it. So you need not fear that this infant theory which owes its being to you will be strangled in the cradle without a struggle to defend it. You will see from the Boston communication that it is no dwarf to be confined to the minor duties of the cottage, but is moulded in a form promising to act a conspicuous part in due time, when it grows and becomes stronger, in the affairs of the world. But that article does not even hint at half of what it is destined for. You will be pleased in seeing it grow, if it can be saved from rude hands in its infancy. When it gets stronger it may be a little wayward, and take a direction you do not dream of. Being truth, it will have to be followed whithersoever it may go, and not driven. There may come a time when you will understand these observations. The fact you have announced is no doubt destined to lead many to truth who are now sitting in darkness, not so much on theoretical subjects as practical ones. Why the doctrine of the circulation came unbidden, and forced itself upon you, you will yet, no doubt, be able to answer even before it has gained half its maturity. But as I have anticipated a part of the second number, I have not time to go into the third more than to say that it will rise in interest as it progresses. My time, however, being very much occupied, I can only once in a while pay attention to this subject. Hence my publications may be far between, if indeed the Boston editor will publish any of them. There is nothing to gain and much to lose by going counter to any received doctrine or popular opinion. Publishers are afraid of new truths, and it is more difficult to

get such matter before the public than old truth revamped. This letter is not intended for publication, but only hastily scratched off for your satisfaction, and to assure you that I am in good earnest in advocating the main proposition of your theory on the motive powers of the blood. I may say to you, however, that when Harvey made his discovery, much more benefit was expected than what followed to science. The error he fell into in locating the chief motory power of the circulating fluid in the heart, instead of the lungs, prevented those expectations from being realized.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL A. CARTWRIGHT."

I am permitted to use an extract from a scientific address delivered this spring in Baltimore, by the Hon. Charles E. Phelps, the nephew of Mrs. Willard, which is entitled to respectful attention as a very able treatise bearing on the subject of the circulation of the blood:

"BALTIMORE, *March 25, 1873.*

"DR. JOHN LORD.

"DEAR SIR: From an address delivered by me on the 11th instant before the Maryland College of Pharmacy, I send at your request some extracts bearing upon the *heat theory of circulation*, originated by Mrs. Emma Willard.

"Very truly yours,

"CHARLES E. PHELPS."

. . . . "I have now to invite your attention for a few moments to an important question of mixed chemistry and physiology, and to the consideration of a chemical action in the animal system as connected with the motive power in the circulation of the blood.

"The fact of the circulation of the blood was, as you are aware, unknown until its discovery by Harvey upon his

return from Padua in 1616, and continued to be ignored or disputed by many of the regular practitioners of that day—even after the publication, in 1628, of his ‘*Exercitatio de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis*.’

“This important contribution to human knowledge has been deservedly ranked among discoveries of the first class, but the researches of Harvey failed to account for the mode by which the blood passed from the arteries to the veins.

“The existence of the capillaries was subsequently revealed by the microscope, and the discovery of the corpuscles by Malpighi enabled the motion of the blood in the capillaries to be distinctly traced.

“It was taught by Harvey that the driving force in the circulation was the muscular contraction of the heart. He maintained that the heart alone, by its contractile power, was adequate to propel the whole mass of blood through its entire circuit. This view has been generally accepted by physiologists, not without occasional dissent and some modification; scarcely any two authorities upon the subject being in exact accord. But, with some additional power, gained, as is supposed, by the contractility of the arteries, this is unquestionably the prevailing theory at the present time.

“I ask you now to note the fact that the problem of the actual quantity of force capable of being exerted by the heart has to this day never been solved, although repeatedly attacked by all the resources of analysis. One authority, Weil, estimated the power of the left ventricle at five ounces. Another, Boulli, made its force not less than one hundred and eighty thousand pounds. Dr. Harvey computed it to be exactly fifty-seven and a half pounds; while Taber concludes its amount to be one hundred and fifty pounds. ‘Such irreconcilable results,’ says Dr. Roget, ‘show the futility of most of the reasonings on which they are founded.’

“You will therefore observe that the theory in question, which may be called the popular belief, is based upon an assumption which may or may not be true, but which has never yet been established by philosophical proof. That the dilatations and contractions of the heart exert a powerful influence upon the circulation has never been denied; that they are sufficient to propel the blood through the larger vessels may be admitted, but that they are the sole or even the principal motive agency in driving it through the meshes of the capillary system in all their immense expanse is a postulate which the rigid requirements of inductive science will reserve as an open question until the evidence is adduced that the cause is adequate to explain the phenomenon.

“Chemistry, as a science, did not exist in the time of Harvey. It was not until a century and a half after the publication of his treatises that *oxygen* was discovered by Priestley. The chemical combination of oxygen, taken into the lungs by means of respiration, with the carbon and hydrogen of the blood, was established by Lavoisier, and was afterward more fully developed by Liebig, as identical with the process of *combustion* and the source of *animal heat*.

“But it was not until the close of the first half of the present century that, at the very point of contact of all the natural sciences, a culminating discovery, no less revolutionary than that of Harvey was announced, and the principle of the *correlation of forces* established. Central in the group of correlated physical forces we recognize *heat* as a form in a mode of motion, and *motion* as a form in a mode of heat.

“The primitive solar energy stored up in a pound of coal when developed by the process of combustion, is capable of doing a definite amount of mechanical work. But combustion cannot take place in animal tissues any more

than it can take place in the furnace of a steam-engine or the cell of a voltaic battery without the exhibition of physical force. The potential energy accumulated in the hydrocarbon of the blood is capable when developed of performing a definite amount of mechanical work.

"The proper condition for the development of this energy exists in the combustion or oxidation of the blood and of the material formed from it in the capillaries of the entire system. We have the products of that combustion in carbonic acid and water, and one result of it is a perceptible increase of temperature or animal heat.

"The interesting question presents itself, Is increase of temperature the only result of this combustion?

"Is there, besides the mere development of perceptible heat, no specific work done—no weight lifted against quantity—no mass moved against inertia?

"The answer to this question must depend upon the conditions under which the chemical action takes place.

"In the case of a fire burning in the pure air, no other exhibition of mechanical power need be expected than that manifested by the connective currents of the heated and expanded air, and even this power may be utilized and made to do visible work by proper mechanical appliances, of which the paper wood-sawyers over a heated stove furnish a familiar illustration.

"But let this same fire blaze through the tubes of a locomotive-boiler, and instead of a boy gyrating idly for the amusement of children, you may have a hundred tons propelled over iron rails with the speed of wind. A certain amount of the heat generated is expended in causing an increase of temperature; but this perceptible heat has no share in the actual work done, being converted by radiation into useless motion. The heat which really does the work is never felt as heat at all. It is molecular motion converted into the motion of translation.

"Taking the quantity of hydrogen oxidized daily in the average able-bodied man at two ounces, and the quantity of carbon at 13.9 ounces,¹ and the quantity of force evolved every day would be represented by 15,482,352 foot-pounds. After making the necessary deductions for the quantity of heat required to keep up the temperature of the body to 98° Fahr., the additional quantity required to evaporate three pounds of water daily, the residuum of force available for actual mechanical working-power, amounts to 7,128,278 foot-pounds in the twenty-four hours. In other words, by the simple act of respiration, there is every day generated within the living body of the human adult, an amount of actual force, independent of animal heat, which, if it could all be concentrated upon the work of lifting a weight, would raise one ton to the height of 3,182 feet in twenty-four hours. The living human being may therefore be compared to a piece of clock-work whose motive power, approximately, is a weight of one ton, descending at the average rate of twenty-six and a half inches per minute.

"The whole of this force is delivered in the capillary system, whose aggregate capacity is from five hundred to eight hundred times the capacity of the whole arterial system. The heart is a muscle weighing from eight to twelve ounces, and to it is assigned the function by the prevalent theory of driving twenty-five pounds of blood, more or less, through the arterial, capillary, and venous systems, with a velocity which has never been definitely ascertained in the human subject, but which from experiment upon animals has been variously estimated at from ten to twenty inches per second in the larger tubes.

"It is, of course, theoretically possible that the force

¹ The data for this calculation are taken from Liebig's "Animal Chemistry." They appear excessive, unless referred to a high latitude, and to food rich in the non-nitrogenous elements.

thus liberated by combustion in the capillaries might in some way be transferred to the heart, and through its muscular action again become the motive power in the circulation, and such a conception would be philosophical, provided we knew the muscular power of that organ to be adequate.

“In the absence of that knowledge, it may not be unphilosophical to suggest the inquiry, Is not, as respects the function of circulation, the heart rather the pendulum or balance-wheel which governs and regulates than the weight or spring which drives the machinery? Is not the real motive power, at all events the principal motive power, the *expansive force of animal heat* developed by respiration?

“This is not a question to be answered by *a priori* reasoning. And, in its present state, the science of physiological chemistry is not sufficiently advanced to afford the data for a demonstration. Its indications are most obscure when we most want certainty. It is exactly in this department that Science now needs the help of bold and patient original investigators, equipped with her best weapons of research and experiment. For this reason I have chosen to commend the subject at this time to your special attention, as opening a promising field of discovery in a province which as professional chemists you have a valid claim to occupy.

“The elements of the problem are, first, the expansion of the blood itself considered simply as a liquid; second, the expansion of the gases with which the blood is charged, the corpuscles of arterial blood being loaded with condensed oxygen in loose combination, and the venous blood being freighted with carbonic acid, besides some quantity of nitrogen present in both; and third, the expansion of aqueous vapor in the lungs, or in other words the tension of *steam* formed in the partial vacuum created by the *act of respiration*.”

NOTE.—The last paragraph embodies substantially the conclusions presented by Mrs. Willard in her memoir published in 1846 "On the Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood," and in a subsequent pamphlet on "Respiration and its Effects," published in 1849. She was unquestionably the first to advance the idea that in the secretion of the blood is to be found the principal impelling power in its circulation, rather than in the mechanical action of the heart.

Thus have I written all that is incumbent on me to say in reference to the theory of Mrs. Willard, regarded by some, as she herself honestly viewed it, as a discovery in science; and by others as a mere speculation without sufficient data from which to draw a sound induction.

But whether the theory can be sustained by science or not, still it cannot be doubted that she made important deductions from the established laws of respiration—and these are sound as well as valuable. In these deductions she would be indorsed by all able physicians.

She gives lessons in health which it would be well for all to consider. The theory that good ventilation is necessary for all, in any condition, and in all kinds of labor. She would guard the organ of respiration against undue confinement. She warns young ladies against tight lacing. She exhorts all to breathe good air. She adduces her own experience. She shows that she was capable of literary labor fourteen hours of the day and night for years, by selecting a large room with a fireplace, and an open wood fire. If scholars would toil before a wood-fire or an open grate, and thus breathe perpetually-renovated air, they would accomplish greater results, and continue in better health. A close room, in summer or winter, is fatal to brain-work. An air-tight stove, or even a furnace, is an abomination to a scholar, even as a closely-packed hall, without ventilation, is difficult for a speaker. I believe that Mrs. Willard was wise in recommending the dropping of the window in the

sleeping-room at night, for half an inch or so. There is nothing like air for health. There is nothing so gloomy and oppressive as a close room. Even in fevers, physicians now prescribe air, when formerly patients were confined in rooms where the poisonous atmosphere was breathed over and over again, as in the hospitals of France and Germany. Nothing disgusted and discouraged Dr. Sims at Sedan so much as the close room in which the German and French physicians persisted in confining their patients. Air in rooms for people, both sick and well, should be continually renewed. In school-rooms the necessity is imperative. The old-fashioned and miserable school-house, with its hard benches, crowded to excess, where the cheerful fire blazed on the hearth, was infinitely preferable to a modern tight and comfortable room without cracks in the walls, or holes in the windows, heated by a close stove or furnace. Our ancestors may occasionally have had rheumatic colds from draughts, but their general health was better than that of modern farmers who coop themselves up in the winter in a small room heated with air-tight stoves. There is no economy so misplaced as the saving of fuel when ventilation is imperfect. There has never been a more fearful change in the general looks of the agricultural population than that effected by the introduction of close stoves. As dyspepsia has prevailed to an alarming extent among farmers from eating hot bread, and fried pork or beef, so their systems have been undermined by breathing impure air.

Now, Mrs. Willard, by calling attention to the necessity of ventilation and fresh air, whether or not is the main cause of generating caloric in the body, or whether this generated caloric is sufficiently powerful to drive the blood from the lungs to the extremities, rendered an important service, to be measured only by the extent of the influence she gained. Here she coöperated with enlightened physicians. They may let her peculiar speculations pass with

a smile, but they must respect and indorse her efforts to secure all the fresh air that one can possibly get into the lungs. It may or may not create heat, but it will produce health, and this is a great point to be gained.

The sketch of Mrs. Willard's writings would be incomplete without allusion to her poetry, which has been severely criticised, and for which she never has had her due. It is true she wrote some pieces which were unworthy of her genius; but she has also written some lyrics which entitle her to poetic fame. Her poetry was very unequal, and it is difficult to conceive why so great disparity should exist. She very early commenced to write verses, some of which are simply mechanical, and some without any merit at all. It is unfortunate for her fame that so great a disparity exists, since critics, if ill-natured, are apt to seize on what is bad, and pass over what is good.

The welcome to Lafayette has been already quoted, and is certainly as good poetry as Mrs. Sigourney ordinarily wrote. I doubt if she ever wrote any thing equal to Mrs. Willard's "Ocean Hymn," which I quote at length :

- "Rocked in the cradle of the deep,
I lay me down in peace to sleep;
Secure I rest upon the wave,
For Thou, O Lord, hast power to save;
I know that Thou wilt not slight my call,
For Thou dost mark the sparrow's fall;
And calm and peaceful is my sleep,
Rocked in the cradle of the deep.
- "And such the trust that still were mine,
Though stormy winds swept o'er the brine;
And, though the tempest's fiery breath
Roused me from sleep to wreck and death,
In ocean-cave, still safe with Thee,
The germ of immortality,
And calm and peaceful is my sleep,
Rocked in the cradle of the deep."

The only defective line, so far as metre is concerned, is the fifth line of the first stanza.

The following, to the "Eye," is certainly worth preserving :

"Mystic source of wondrous meaning !
Pleading herald of the heart ;
Thou, with thousands intervening,
Keen sensations canst impart.

"Whence hast thou thy power so killing,
That when words would fail to move,
Thy potent glance the bosom thrilling,
Melts it to tumultuous love ? "

The following lines, on the recovery of a sister from a melancholy derangement, have much poetic merit :

"When blackest clouds o'erspread the summer's sky,
And roaring winds bespeak destruction nigh ;
When thousand lightnings horrid lustre shed,
And thousand thunders make the scene more dread ;

"Then it is joy to view the parting cloud,
No more the sun's earth-cheering radiance shroud ;
And smiling Nature show herself appeased,
Where late she seemed with maniac fury seized.

"But, ah ! this joy is grief compared with mine ;
I see, I see, the light of reason shine
On Anna's face—welcome returning beams,
That clear her mind of horrid, woe-fraught dreams.

"How couldst thou, Reason, so desert her mind ?
Could naught detain thee ? not a mother blind
With bitter tears, and not a father's pain,
And not a sister's agony, detain ?

"Yet had we never the keen anguish known,
To see her altered, see how, reason gone,
She'd rave at wrongs which only fancy felt,
Or, moved by fancied woes, to sorrow melt :

"Had not such pangs been suffered to annoy,
Then never had we felt this thrilling joy ;
And never had we known how sweet this scene,
When Anna's self in Anna's form is seen."

The following, too, is a beautiful hymn composed by Mrs. Willard, and sung by her pupils at the close of an examination :

"O Thou, the First, the Last, the Best !
To Thee the grateful song we raise,
Convinced that all our works should be
Begun and ended with Thy praise.

"It is from Thee the thought arose
When chants the nun or vestal train,
That praise is sweeter to Thine ear,
When virgin voices hymn the strain.

"Lord, bless to us this parting scene ;
Sister to sister bids farewell ;
They wait to bear us to our homes,
With tender parents there to dwell.

"Oh, may we ever live to Thee !
Then, as we leave earth's care-worn road,
Angels shall wait to take our souls,
And bear them to our Father God."

There seems to me to be a deep feeling in the following lines, written, on the anniversary of the death of her husband, to her adopted daughter and niece, Jane Lincoln, when about to depart on a journey :

“May this day’s memory be saered kept,
By thee and me, my daughter. Twice the sun
Hath annual visited the signs of heaven,
Since, on this day, within this mourning house,
Was seen Death’s awful footsteps! Weeds of woe
I bore, and, darker than the sable garb,
The name of widow: darker, too, my soul—
No ray of earth-born light was there. But, withered
In heart and form, alone I sought the room
Where lay his form, enshrouded for the grave.
But, ah! not yet—not even yet, can I
Depiet that parting scene, for tears flow fast,
And my hand trembles. Other years must roll,
Ere I can tell the thoughts that darkened o’er me
The while I took my last long look, and spoke
Farewell until the resurrection morn.
Yet I have borne that parting scene, and lived;
Then let not that which for a little while
Divides thy friends from thee, too much distress
Thy gentle heart, my daughter.
Yes, we have lived, and Merey’s tender hand,
In unthought ways, hath healed our many wounds,
And led us forth beside the peaceful streams
Of heavenly consolation. May that hand
Still guide thy ways: safe guard thee o’er the deep;
Chase from thy path contagion’s baneful breath;
Crown with suecess thy labors, and prepare
For thee on earth a home of peace and love—
For thee in heaven a home of endless joy.”

The only defect in these lines, as it appears to me, is that every line is not of equal length and measure. If I were to go out of my province to criticise, I should say that Mrs. Willard was not artistic in the use of words or in style. She is not sufficiently elaborate. What she wrote well, she wrote from the heart, or from strong, intellectual convictions. When she wrote poetry, when there is no great feeling or powerful object, she did not write well.

The following lines, to "My Own Sunny France," should be preserved :

"Oh, how blithe did I warble my lay !
How sportfully trip in the dance !
In the spring-time of life's happy day,
In the clime of my own sunny France !
But Oppression was there, with her stern iron rod,
Provoking the wrath both of man and of God.

"Then the war-blast blew loud, and the drum beat to arms,
And the rattling artillery smote on the ear,
In the fight was my father, and, pale with alarms,
I clung to my mother, and wept with my fear.
They shout ! Oh, they shout ! 'Tis the voice of the brave !
And France hath no more either tyrant or slave.

"Since then I have roamed, but deep, deep in my heart,
Is a feeling that rises e'en when in the dance ;
'Tis a feeling that ne'er from this bosom shall part,
For the love that I bear thee, my own sunny France.
Sunny France ! Sunny France ! My own sunny France !
'Tis the love that I bear thee, my own sunny France."

In the dedication of her "Republic of America," to her mother, Mrs. Lydia Hart, I find the following affectionate and patriotic lines, though they are not, as poetry, equal to what she often wrote, being defective both in rhythm and measure :

"Accept this offering of a daughter's love,
Dear, only, widowed parent ; on whose brow,
Time-honored, have full eighty winters shed
The crown of glory.

Mothers, few are left
Like thee, who felt the fire of freedom's holy time
Pervade and purify the patriot breast.
Thou wert within thy country's shattered bark,
When, trusting Heaven, she rode the raging seas,

And braved, with dauntless, death-defying front,
 The storm of war. With me retrace the scene ;
 Then view her peace, her wealth, her liberty, and fame :
 Almost unhop'd for, from the dangerous waves,
 Thou canst rejoice ; and thankful praise to God,
 The Great Deliverer, which perchance I speak,
 Thou, in thy pious heart, wilt deeply feel."

In an unpublished but long manuscript poem, I find this excellent imitation of Pope's "Messiah," written in 1820 :

"Behold accomplished God's immense designs !
 And human rule imperfect order shines ;
 And all its vast results amazed behold,
 By ancient faithful prophecy foretold !
 No man oppressed, nor ignorant, nor vile,
 Man's peaceful thoughts are bent on virtuous toil.
 Each rugged rock of foulest birds the seat,
 Each murky den, where clustering adders meet,
 Each darksome wood, where roams the beast of prey,
 All shall be swept by culture's hand away !
 No harmful object passion to annoy,
 Lovely those days of pure and holy joy,
 While God on Salem's towers doth shed the ray
 Of righteous rule and science, perfect day !"

Mrs. Willard has left behind some lengthy poems which have never been published. She also published a volume of poems in 1831, the year she visited Europe, but they were so much altered by the person to whom the superintendence of printing them was intrusted, that the edition was suppressed.

If the prescribed limits of this work would permit, I would cite other poems, such as her beautiful "Christmas Hymn," to show that her poetical talents were more than respectable. But she was too busy, too much occupied with the cares incident to education, to give vent, except

occasionally, to feelings in poetry. And, while her poetry, like many other of her writings, shows loftiness of character, yet it is not for either poetry or science that she will be best remembered. Her peculiar glory is in giving an impulse to the cause of female education. In this cause she rendered priceless services. When we remember the institution she founded and conducted, the six thousand young ladies whom she educated, and many of them gratuitously; when we bear in mind the numerous books she wrote to be used in schools, and the great favor with which these books have generally been received; when we think of the ceaseless energies, in various ways, which she put forth, for more than half a century, to elevate her sex, it would be difficult to find a woman, in this age or country, who has been more useful, or who will be longer remembered as both good and great—not for original genius, not for any immortal work of art, not a character free from blemishes and faults, does she claim an exalted place among women, but as a benefactor of her country and of her sex, in those things which shed lustre around homes, and give dignity to the human soul.

THE END.

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